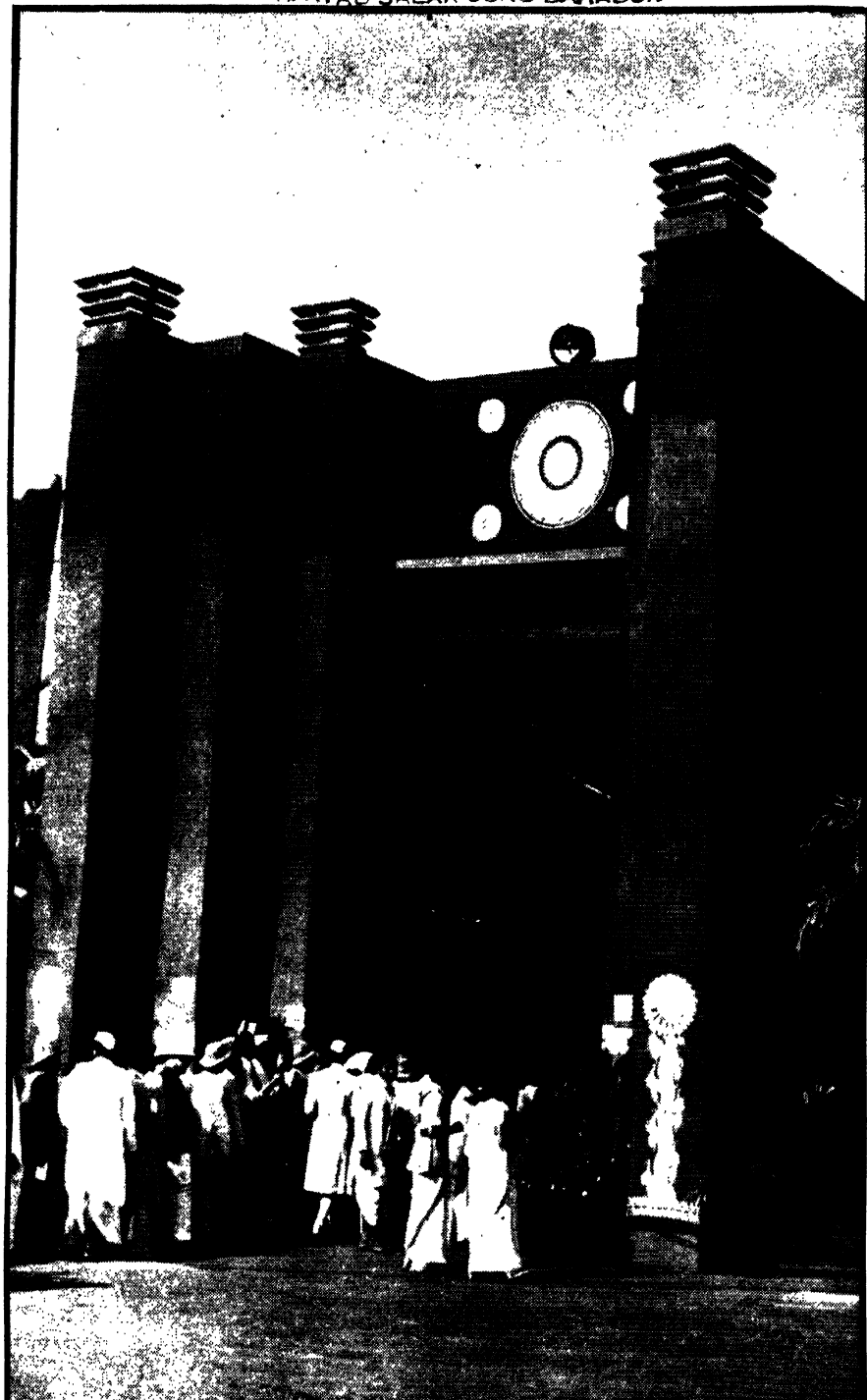


ASIAN RELATIONS

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR



ASIAN RELATIONS

*being Report of the Proceedings and Documentation
of the First Asian Relations Conference
New Delhi, March-April, 1947*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

"IT so happened that we in India convened this Conference", said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his inaugural address, "but the idea of such a Conference arose simultaneously in many minds and in many countries of Asia." And naturally. For the Asian countries, while undoubtedly they differed from one another in several respects, had a number of common problems which they could best solve only by mutual discussion and understanding and the national awakening in several Asian countries in the last one decade had brought in its wake an increasing awareness of the urgency of these problems.

Politically, of course, the most important problem was how to terminate foreign domination, direct or indirect and to achieve freedom to direct their affairs in accordance with the will of the people concerned so essential for peace and prosperity. But political freedom without economic freedom would be of little value. What was needed in this respect was the transformation of what may be called a colonial economy into a national economy (with due regard to international co-operation); the diversification and modernisation of agricultural production, the development of manufacturing industry specially related to internal resources and opportunities, the assurance of security to the people by the extension of social services and by social insurance; and the raising of the standard of living would, it was naturally expected, follow from such transformation. Socially, the liquidation of illiteracy, the raising of the status of women and the development of culture in such a way that the best traditions of Asian civilization were

preserved while adopting those of value from the West were perhaps the most important questions that came to the forefront with the awakening in new Asia.

It is difficult to trace from the records available to us who first gave public expression to the general desire among Asian peoples to meet and confer together. Suffice it to say that in a special interview to Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Correspondent to the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Hindu*, on 25 December 1945 at Allahabad Pandit Nehru explained how an Asian Conference could be helpful to the understanding of Asia's problems and to the promotion of co-operation among Asian peoples; and that on his return from a tour in South East Asia in March 1946 he announced that the desire for holding an Asian Conference had been expressed to him by General Aung San and others. It then occurred to some members of the Indian Council of World Affairs that the Council might take the initiative in the matter, and thus provide an opportunity for a discussion of Asia's common problems at an expert level. The executive Committee of the Indian Council accepted this suggestion—though it must be said, with great hesitation. For the Council was just young, having been formed only some two to three years before (1943). It is true that during this period it had gathered together some six hundred members; its journal *India Quarterly* had been received favourably in international circles; and it had some important publications to its credit. It had also made valuable contacts with some international bodies and in particular with the Institute of Pacific Relations to whose Conference at Hot Springs (1945) it had, at the invitation of the Pacific Council, sent a delegation of five of its members. But, with all these it was felt that the Council had yet to establish its standing and credentials for organising a Conference of the type proposed; besides, it had only a small staff and slender financial resources. If the Executive Committee nevertheless accepted the suggestion, it was primarily because they felt that the organisation of the proposed Conference was essentially the work of the Council as a body devoted to the objective study of international affairs, and more specially of affairs relating to India and her neighbouring countries.

TWO PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

The idea having been accepted, an informal meeting of those interested was called towards the end of April 1946 to discuss the

general lines on which the Conference should be organised. From the first it was agreed of course that the Conference was to be an unofficial and cultural one and that its main object would be to exchange ideas regarding the common problems which all Asian countries had to face in the post-war era and to study them in Round Table groups on the basis of data-papers prepared in advance by those who had made a special study of them. The lines of work would fundamentally be the same as those on which the Pacific Relations Conference had been working for some years; the structural basis of this had been made familiar to us by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit and four other members who had taken part in the Conference at Hotsprings early in 1945. The important things to settle were : what were to be the subjects for discussion? and who were to be invited ?

*Topics for Discussion*¹

A preliminary note on the Agenda for the Conference submitted by the secretariat included (i) Defence and Security questions; (ii) Racial problems; (iii) Intra-Asian emigration and the status and treatment of immigrants; (iv) Transition from a colonial to a national economy; (v) Agricultural and Industrial development; (vi) Public Health, nutrition and labour welfare; and (vii) cultural co-operation.

Discussion at the informal meeting referred to above revealed a practical unanimity on the relevance of subjects (ii) to (vii). The existence of large groups or minorities in many Asian countries racially different from the majority of the people of those countries such as the Chinese in Malaya and Indo-China and Indians in Burma and Ceylon raised racial and migration problems which must be tackled on an all-Asian basis if they were to be solved satisfactorily. The general backwardness of all Asian countries in agriculture and industry arising primarily from the fact that they had yet to develop their national economies in accordance with

1. The organisers of the Conference had hoped that the final Agenda could be settled by an Agenda Committee consisting of representatives from the countries which would be participating in the Conference, but that hope did not materialise on account of difficulties of contact and the shortness of the time available.

their needs and resources and the resultant poverty and economic insecurity was of course among the most important for consideration at an intra-Asian Conference. There was a wide sphere of cultural problems in which exchange of ideas would be fruitful—a common language, the creation of a nucleus among the intelligentsia in every Asian country of persons well versed in other Asian languages and collaboration in art and architecture.

But regarding defence and security questions, it was argued that while they were undoubtedly important, they raised controversial political issues which it was undesirable to raise at this first Conference. Moreover, a preliminary examination of the question revealed that the security of Asia had more than an Asian incidence as it was almost identical with world security. The view prevailed that in an Asian Relations Conference we should avoid on the one hand controversial issues relating to particular states and, on the other, issues which have more than an Asian incidence and can be solved only at higher levels. In the result the item was omitted from the list and in its stead, a comparative study of Freedom Movements in Asian countries was included. It was decided also to include as an additional subject: the status of women and women's movements in Asia. The eight subjects finally selected conveniently fall under five groups:

National movements for freedom
Migration and Racial problems
Economic Development and Social services
Cultural problems
Women's problems,

each one of which was to be dealt with by one Round Table Group at one or more sessions as detailed in Appendix F.

Who were to be invited?

This really involved a decision on two sets of questions: (a) which countries were to be invited, and (b) who were to be invited from each?

On the first issue, there was a school of thought which held that the Conference might be confined to South-East Asia; the countries in this part of Asia do form a region from the defence and economic points of view and are more closely allied to India

than the others. Moreover, it was thought, that as this was the first Conference to be attempted, it was better to proceed with caution and tackle a smaller task ; and later, with the experience gained, it would be easier to spread out. In the end, however, it was decided to send invitations to all Asian countries (and to Egypt which is so closely allied to the Middle East countries in culture and general economic and political development) on the ground that psychologically this would have a more profound effect; besides, it was explained, this was more in the nature of a preliminary Conference, an occasion to meet and forge common links ; regional Conferences within Asia might come later and the contacts made at this Conference would help such specialisation.

It was decided in addition to invite observers from cultural institutions in certain non-Asian countries including Australia, New Zealand, Britain, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

The second question was really more important, and—it may be confessed—called for some hard thinking on the part of the organisers. What was important, it was agreed, was that we must have from each country the best men that it could send, men who were well conversant with the problems set for discussion, the needs of their countries and their relations with those of the rest of Asia. Where there were organisations more or less similar to the Indian Council of World Affairs in aim and activities, as for instance in Burma (where there is the Burma Council of World Affairs), there was no difficulty. But in many Asian countries, there were no such organisations ; or, it might be, as in China, there were two or more organisations which could well be invited. Again, in the choice of delegates, the need to have different points of view represented at the Conference had to be borne in mind ; it was obviously important, for instance, to have both the Jew and the Arab points of view from Palestine and the Kuomintang and the Communist from China. In the end it was decided to invite :

(a) a joint delegation of sixteen from cultural associations and institutions in each Asian country and Egypt, the criterion of a cultural body being applied with some degree of flexibility so as to take into account the differing circumstances in the various countries ;

(b) individual scholars to supplement the representation from public associations ; and

(c) four observers from the Government of each Asian country.

The status of observers was also to be given to the representatives from institutions of the five non-Asian countries referred to above.

THE ORGANISATION ASPECT

These decisions tentatively arrived at the first and subsequent informal discussions were confirmed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council held on 31 August 1946. At this meeting was also appointed a representative and influential organising committee¹ of some 57 members with Pandit Nehru as Chairman² and a smaller Working Committee³ from among them to take the necessary steps in regard to the organisation of the Conference.

The necessary staff was soon assembled and they set to work with earnestness and enthusiasm. An appeal was issued for funds, and, it is a pleasure to record, the response was very generous indicating that the country had fully realised the importance of the Conference and India's duty as the host country.

In later weeks, the plan of the Conference began to unfold itself more clearly and important decisions were taken. It was

1. 12 members were added to the list later.
2. When Pandit Nehru assumed office in the interim Government in September 1946, the Working Committee elected Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as Chairman of the Organising Committee. Pandit Nehru continued, however, to be its Honorary President.
3. The Working Committee consisted of the following :

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman)

Mrs. Hannah Sen	K. Santhanam
Dr. P. S. Lokanathan	Mr. B. Shiva Rao
Mr. D. G. Mulherkar	Dr. Zakir Hussain
Dr. I. H. Qureshi	Dr. A. Appadorai (Secretary)

The following were later co-opted to the Working Committee :

Sir S. S. Bhatnagar	Dr. P. P. Pillai
Mrs. Hansa Mehta	Mr. K. L. Punjabi
Pandit H. N. Kunzru	Sheik Hashmatullah Koreshi
Mr. M. R. Masani	Mrs. K. Shiva Rao

thus decided that: (i) there should be a Women's section of the Conference and efforts be made to have as large an attendance of women delegates and observers as was possible; (ii) the delegates and observers from countries outside India be the guests of the Conference; (iii) as many distinguished men and women from other countries would be with us for nearly a fortnight, some entertainment by way of classical dances, *Kathakali* and ballets be arranged, particularly with a view to giving our guests some idea of Indian life, art and culture, besides excursions and receptions; (iv) an inter-Asian Art Exhibition, a Science Exhibition and an Archaeological Exhibition be arranged⁴; and (v) as the Conference had evoked great enthusiasm throughout the country, arrangements be made to have two or three plenary sessions of the Conference (in addition to the Round Table Groups and Group plenary sessions) to which the wider public could be admitted on purchase of tickets. These decisions necessitated the expansion of the organisation and sub-committees were appointed to be in charge of the Women's section, Reception, Accommodation, Entertainment, Local visits, Exhibitions, *Pandal*, Volunteers, Publicity, Memoranda and Finance.

THE RESPONSE TO INVITATIONS

The decision to hold the Conference had been taken and the organisation to make the necessary arrangements was being evolved. The Working Committee, however, decided to await the response to the invitations already issued before finally fixing the date for the Conference; for it was on this factor, and on the production of basic material by way of memoranda to help in Conference discussions that the success of the Conference largely depended, and from this point of view, the later the date the better.

The first invitations were sent early in September 1946. It took some time, however, before they reached the invitees and the replies could come. This was due to the difficulty of communications in the Asian countries—in his inaugural address Pandit Nehru drew pointed attention to the isolation of Asian countries from one another ever since the European domination of Asia.

4. See Appendix E.

From early December, however, the replies began gradually to come in and by the first week of March practically all the countries who had been invited had sent us their acceptance.⁵ Here is the position at a glance :

Country	Delegates	Observers		Total.
		Govern-ment.	Institu-tions.	
Afghanistan	.. 5	2	—	7
Armenia	.. 2	—	—	2
Azerbaijan	.. 2	—	—	2
Bhutan	.. —	2	—	2
Burma	.. 17	4	—	21
Cambodia, Cochin-China,				
Laos	.. 3	—	—	3
Ceylon	.. 15	5	—	20
China	.. 8	1	—	9
Egypt	.. 3	2	—	5
Georgia	.. 2	—	—	2
India	.. 51	6	—	57
Indonesia	.. 25	7	—	32
Iran	.. 3	3	—	6
Kazakhstan	.. 2	—	—	2
Kirghizia	.. 1	—	—	1
Korea	.. 3	—	—	3
Malaya	.. 14	—	—	14
Mongolia	.. 2	1	—	3
Nepal	.. 5	3	—	8
Hebrew University,				
Palestine	.. 10	—	—	10
Philippines	.. 6	—	—	6
Siam	.. 2	2	—	4
Tadjikistan	.. 2	—	—	2
Tibet	.. 4	—	—	4
Turkey	.. —	1	—	1
Turkmenistan	.. 1	—	—	1
Uzbekistan	.. 2	—	—	2
Viet Nam	.. 3	—	—	3
Australia	.. —	—	2	2
Arab League	.. —	—	1	1
Britain	.. —	—	3	3
Soviet Union	.. —	—	2	2
U.S.A.	.. —	—	3	3
UNO	.. —	—	1	1
	193	39	12	244

5. See Appendices B and C.

THE PREPARATION OF MEMORANDA

The production of basic material to help in Conference discussions, we have said earlier, was also equally essential and this also presented some difficulty, for memoranda had to be prepared on eight topics which covered practically all aspects of Asian life and all Asian countries. There were hardly any statistics readily available about many of these countries, and such statistics as were available were not always authoritative or reliable, and it was risky to draw useful conclusions on the basis of such data; the books available on several aspects of Asian life were very few, and the scholars in India who had specialised in Asia's problems were relatively few; and above all only a little more than six months were available for the whole task. The research section of the Conference secretariat decided however to tackle the task as best as it could with the material at its disposal. It first prepared an elaboration of five out of the eight topics on the agenda and sent it round to the scholars and institutions invited; prepared a list of books that had been published on Asia and arranged to have three books on Asia prepared one under the title *Asia in the Modern World* containing essential information on the politics and economics of Asia, and another, an illustrated one, entitled *Asia Souvenir* giving the information more concisely and in a more popular form, and a third, entitled *A Handbook of Asian Statistics*. For the preparation of the memoranda themselves the secretariat largely relied upon scholars and research institutes in the country who could deal with one or more aspects of each topic and associations, outside India, to whom invitations had been extended to send delegates. The co-operation of the Universities was also sought in the matter. Even till early February the effective response to our requests for memoranda was not very encouraging; later, however, the position improved and we were able to have some ninety-four memoranda⁶ covering practically all aspects of the subjects for discussion at the Conference; of these one-third were from outside India.

6. A full list is given in Appendix D.

Of these twelve related to National movements for freedom, seven to Racial problems, one to Intra-Asian Migration, five to Transition from Colonial to National Economy, thirteen to Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development, seventeen to Labour problems and Social services, thirty-one to Cultural problems and seven to Women's status and Women's Movements in Asia and one related to the Agenda as a whole. Analysing them according to the countries to which they relate, the position is as follows :

Asia as a whole	..	43	Lebanon	..	1
Middle East	..	1	Malaya	..	1
South East Asia	..	3	Philippines	..	4
Afghanistan	..	2	Siam	..	2
Bhutan	..	1	Viet-Nam	..	1
Burma	..	6	India & Indonesia	..	1
Ceylon	..	6	India & Middle East	..	1
China	..	2	India & South East Asia	..	2
India	..	11	Middle East and South East		
Indonesia	..	2	Asia	..	1
India and China	..	1			—
Japan	..	2			94

THE CONFERENCE DRAWS NEAR

When a fair number of acceptances had been received and a good part of the basic material had been well under way, the Working Committee decided to fix the dates for the Conference—March 23—April 2. The various Committees had been at work for weeks and arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates, entertainment and local visits were nearing completion.

Regarding the meeting of the Conference itself, the original idea had been to hold it in the Council House with accommodation for nearly a thousand ; public interest in the Conference, to which reference has been made earlier, induced the Working Committee to consider the idea of providing larger accommodation for the Opening Plenary Sessions by having a large sized *shamiana* put up ; finally the decision was taken to put up a big *pandal* in the spacious grounds of the *Purana Qila* (old Fort at Delhi) which would admit as many as ten to fifteen thousands. The Plenary Sessions on March 23 and 24 were therefore to be public sessions open to delegates, observers, members of the Reception Committee (820 had enrolled

themselves as members), Distinguished guests specially invited, Press representatives and the general public on tickets.

The business part of the Conference, *i.e.*, the discussion on the various subjects on the Agenda⁷ was to be in Round Table Groups and Group plenary sessions (which it was decided to hold in and near the Constitution House where most of the delegates were lodged). It was decided to have five groups as mentioned elsewhere. Every group would consist of some members of each delegation, it being open, however, to any member of the Conference interested in the work of any group other than that of which he was a member, to attend the meetings of that group also. Every group would have a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman to conduct its proceedings and a Rapporteur. Besides the delegates and observers, some distinguished guests by invitation were also to be admitted to the meetings of the Group.

After Round Table discussion on each topic was over, the Rapporteur would present to the plenary session, for consideration, a Report summing up the discussion and conclusions of the Group. These (group) plenary sessions were to be open to all delegates and observers, distinguished guests and members of the Reception Committee.

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Finally there was to be another public session—on the lines of the Opening Plenary Session—on April 2nd.

English was to be the official language of the Conference ; but interpreters were to be provided for Russian, French, Arabic, Persian and Chinese languages.

The procedure of the Conference as outlined above was provisionally agreed upon ; the Steering Committee of the Conference, consisting of leaders of delegations would, however, be the authority to decide all matters relating to it ; the first meeting of that committee was fixed at 11 A.M. on March 23.

7. See Appendix D 1.

From early March delegates began to arrive ; among the first to arrive were from our neighbouring countries, Iran and Afghanistan. By March 23, practically all of them had arrived.⁸

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Steering Committee was held on Sunday, 23 March 1947 at 11 a.m., in the annexe to the Constitution House Lounge. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was present by special invitation.

The Committee agreed that :

i. A small committee consisting of Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint, (Burma), Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (Ceylon) and Mr. Philip Hoalim (Malaya) be constituted to approve the final list of Delegates and Observers attending the Conference ;

ii. The Chairmen of the Plenary Sessions be taken from Afghanistan, Burma, China, Indonesia, Iran and one of the Asian Republics of the U.S.S.R.;

iii. The election of the chairman and vice-chairman of each Round Table Group be left to the group itself and that the secretariat be asked to provide a temporary chairman to conduct the meeting of the group until the chairman of the group was elected ;

iv. No resolutions would be placed or adopted by the Conference but that at each plenary session a report embodying the discussions and the consensus of opinion in the group should be presented:

v. The Press be admitted to the Plenary Sessions but owing to the limitation of space, admission be limited ordinarily to 50 representatives ; and

8. Owing to travel and other difficulties delegations from Korea and Mongolia arrived rather late in the proceedings ; owing to the same reason the delegates from the two Soviet Asian Republics of Turkmenistan and Kirghizia arrived one day after the Conference had ended.

vi. A sub-committee consisting of the following persons with power to co-opt, be constituted to consider the advisability of establishing a permanent institute :

Dr. Abdul Majid Khan	..	Afghanistan
Mr. Yusufov	..	Azerbaijan
U Ba Lwin	..	Burma
Mr. Bandaranaike	..	Ceylon
Dr. Wen Yuan Ning	..	China
Miss Karima Said	..	Egypt
Mr. Soeripno	..	Indonesia
Dr. Ghulam Hussain Sadighi	..	Iran
Mr. Philip Hoalim	..	Malaya
Dr. Hugo Bergman	..	Palestine
Pandit H. N. Kunzru	..	India
Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon	..	"
Mr. K. Santhanam	..	"
Sir B. N. Rao	..	"
Dr. P. S. Lokanathan (Convener)	..	"

THE CONFERENCE

The Opening Plenary Session met at 5 p.m. the same day at the *Purana Qila* in the *Pandal* which had been specially put up for the occasion.⁹

There was a distinguished gathering of delegates, observers and guests specially invited including foreign diplomatic officials and visitors on tickets who numbered more than ten thousand. A large map of Asia, specially prepared for the occasion, and the flags of all Asian countries added to the picturesqueness of the occasion.

The delegates and observers marched in a procession to the *Pandal* led by the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The leaders of the delegation took their seats on the dais.

The proceedings began with a welcome address by the Chairman of the Reception Committee.¹⁰

The opening session continued on March 24.¹¹

9. See illustration facing page 15.

10. See p. 16 for proceedings.

11. See p. 43 for proceedings.

The Round Table Groups and Group plenary sessions met from March 24 to April 2 according to programme (Appendix F)¹²

A final Plenary Session met amidst scenes of great enthusiasm on April 2 in the *Pandal* at *Purana Qila* and attracted a gathering of twenty thousand.¹³

The organisers of the Conference convened it with very modest hopes. As Jawaharlal Nehru said in his address to the Bombay Branch of the Council on 22 August 1946 :

We have no doubt that, if we do meet, the Conference will not put an end to the world's troubles. The Conference will help to promote good relations with neighbouring countries. It will help to pool ideas and experience with a view to raising living standards. It will strengthen cultural, social and economic ties among the peoples of Asia. The data papers presented to the Conference will constitute valuable documents and the discussions on them will, we hope, throw out correct suggestions for firm policy.

We leave it to the historian to judge how far these aims have been realised ; in the meantime we present in the following pages an authentic record of the proceedings of the Conference both in its Plenary Sessions and the Round Table Groups and hope it will be useful for reference to all those who are interested in the welfare of Asian peoples.

12. See p. 71 for proceedings.

13. See p. 234 for proceedings.

CHAPTER II

THE OPENING PLENARY SESSIONS

THE FIRST SESSION

23 March 1947

THE Opening Plenary Session of the Asian Relations Conference met in Delhi's historic *Purana Qila* (Old Fort) at 5 p.m. on Sunday, 23 March 1947. Perhaps never before since this fort was built by the Emperor Sher Shah in 1540 A.D. had it collected within its walls, and at one time, such a large concourse of humanity as witnessed the Plenary Sessions of the Conference. Over ten thousand people assembled in the auditorium that had been specially constructed for the occasion. It was a fan-shaped *pandal*, some three hundred feet by four hundred feet in area. At the centre of its rear line stood the rostrum, a hundred feet long, with flights of steps on either side like those to a Roman forum, and seating the President and the leaders of the delegations in two great segments one above the other. Centrally to the front row of this colossal auditorium sat the delegates and observers in country-wise enclosures, flanked on either side by distinguished guests, members of the Reception Committee, and the Press. From behind the rostrum hung banners of some participating countries, while stuck to it in front were multi-coloured shields bearing the coat of arms of some others. Right behind the presidential *gadi* was mounted a huge map of Asia,¹ the continent's name lettered on top of it in neon

1. Prepared by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, New Delhi.

light. Yonder in the centre of the auditorium's fan fringe, exactly facing the rostrum, and up an aisle four hundred feet along from it, was the main entrance. A strikingly high erection this, its facade streamlined and brilliantly flood-lit. A thousand lights twinkled from their parchment shades on the vast congregation inside and the dais was even more lavishly lit with beams that converged from various angles. All these and the many more points of detail that had been rounded off with taste and design made the auditorium a charmingly elegant and beautiful structure, worthy of the unique meeting it sheltered under its roof.

The delegates first gathered in a *shamiana* outside the *pandal* and walked in procession to their seats inside in alphabetical order of the countries from which they came. Leading the procession were the President of the Conference, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Shri Ram. The proceedings commenced with Mrs. Naidu taking the chair and calling upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to ascend the dais 'and to give his support'. The President then called out the leaders of the various delegations who went up the rostrum one by one and took their seats. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Shri Ram, then welcomed the delegates, observers, and the other guests. He said :

WELCOME ADDRESS

Fellow delegates and friends,

On behalf of the Reception Committee and also as a citizen of this ancient city which—if I may so claim—is the heart of India, it is my pleasant privilege to welcome you all, delegates and observers, guests and visitors, most cordially to this Conference.

The delegates, I believe, represent easily more than a half of the world's population, even omitting Japan and Korea whose representatives we miss here to-day,² and if we add the observers also, this Conference will represent a much greater part of the whole world. To my mind, and let us all hope that I am right, it is an augury of good that, in this distracted world, at a time when almost every country is busy with its urgent problems of

2. The Korean delegation arrived at a later stage of the Conference.



A view of some of the delegates sitting in the Conference auditorium

rehabilitation and reconstruction, so many countries should have so readily agreed to send delegates or observers to this Conference, which as I see it, is primarily a focus of goodwill.

I need hardly say how glad I am that India has been given the honour and privilege of having this Conference in her capital city. A conference of this kind is, I suppose, without precedent, but I do hope, and I am sure all of you will share my hope, that it may be the precursor of many more conferences of this kind.

In the crisis through which the world is now passing, a heavy responsibility rests on leaders in all countries, and what is most needed, if I may say so, is a constructive and co-operative outlook. From this point of view, it is, I think, an advantage that this Conference is being held, not under the official auspices of the Governments of the participating countries, which would necessarily have restricted the freedom of delegates, but on a wholly voluntary basis, resting on the willingness of various cultural organisations to meet and discuss various common matters, freely and without reservations; and I hope, therefore, that such agreements or understanding as may be reached here, even if only informal, and not legally binding on Governments, will not command any less weight with the Governments and peoples of the participating countries.

The first thought that occurred to me in connection with this Conference is the contrast between the fairly free intercourse between India and her neighbouring countries ten or even twenty centuries ago, in spite of the then prevailing difficulties of transport, delays and risks, and the almost total absence of any intercourse between us in recent times, for example during the last century, in spite of the far better means of transport and other facilities. Whatever the origin of these invisible, but none the less effective, barriers that have stood between us in recent times, it must be a matter for satisfaction to every one that these barriers are fast disappearing, and I for one sincerely hope that in future we shall all meet each other and visit each other's countries often and in sufficiently large numbers, even if not on the scale on which contacts existed at one time between southeast Asia and the south Indian kingdoms of the Pandyas and the Cholas, or between north-west India and the neighbouring countries, at least on a scale which will make us more familiar with and less strange to each other,

enable us to learn from the experience and knowledge of each other, and to appreciate and enjoy each other's literature, arts and so forth. In particular I hope that as many of you here as may have come from abroad will find it possible to stay on for some time, see our country, meet our savants, writers, artists and social and religious leaders and help our country with your advice and criticism.

The next thing that struck me was the antiquity of Asian cultures and civilisations, and the remarkable way in which, in spite of setbacks at various times, they have survived and gone on, shedding their weaknesses and developing and absorbing new strength from outside. India in particular, as many of you know, has been an important meeting ground, from time to time, of different cultures, and has made her own unique contribution in synthesising seemingly antagonistic cultures. Where an extraneous element could not be absorbed into or grafted on to the local cultures, India has generally shown great tolerance to the element and allowed it to exist side by side, and survive, if survive it could, on its own merits. I am not competent to go into the details of ancient Indian history, and even if I were, this is hardly the occasion to do so. At the present moment, as our distinguished leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru frequently points out, India is in an intensely dynamic state, and I hope and trust that with the assistance of all of you my country will utilise this dynamic capacity—both the forces and the momentum—in a synthesis once again of all that is good in our own past and what we can adopt with advantage from others today.

There is a wide field in which all of us can work together and in which our interests, taken by and large, are coincident or at least complementary. Our needs are similar, even if not identical, and the steps to be taken by each of us would be largely similar. In respect of all these matters we can, to our mutual benefit, pool our experiences, knowledge, and maybe also some of our resources. In comparison with Europe and America, we have all a long leeway to make up, particularly by way of industrial development, but let us learn from the mistakes of the West and so plan our industries as to avoid not only the squalor, dirt, misery and overcrowding of industrial areas in the West, but the perpetual, though not unavoidable, conflict between labour and

capital. I can speak with a little confidence on this subject, having had to deal with it for the greater part of my life. Even as regards agriculture, our production, especially of foodstuffs, is insufficient, and most of you know about the heavy loss of life in the Bengal famine a few years ago. I am aware that most other Asian countries are in a similar, if not worse, plight.

There is hardly a country represented here which has not suffered in one way or another, and in perhaps all cases seriously from the recent war. Some countries have been the actual scene of war and thus been subjected to inevitable devastation, while others have had to tighten their belts and deprive themselves of their current needs for years together, even when their resources were scanty and inadequate for their own limited needs. All of us in Asia have suffered badly in this way, and some of you I am afraid, to a much worse extent than my own country. But all of us have, I think, ample recuperative power, and given an atmosphere of peace, goodwill and freedom from disturbances in the shape of wars, I am confident that before long Asia can resume the enviable position she had in the world before the industrial revolution in Europe placed that part of the world in a position of advantage.

Without material prosperity and economic stability cultural activity can seldom get a chance and it is not surprising, therefore, that, even culturally, India at any rate is not today in a particularly enviable position. Though our own cultures are by no means dead, and there are spasmodic activities of renaissance, our old ideals of plain living and high thinking have been rather forgotten in recent times in the pursuit of quick and easy gains naturally of less permanent value. We have been neglecting our own past in spite of its rich heritage. A similar criticism can also be made about our fine arts.

I can say without any mental reservations that in this country despite apparent indications here and there to the contrary, there is no ill-will towards other countries, either Asian or otherwise. Asian 'ahimsa' and the spirit of 'let live' are deeply rooted in us, and we cannot easily shed them even if we will. It seems to me likely that when the present political set-up in India has been forgotten, as it will be, in course of time, the attitude of India towards the

West will not be one of hostility. I go even further and think it likely that some of the useful features of modern Western life, particularly its sense of discipline, civic conscience, value of time and the like will be assimilated by us.

The scientific method is, I believe, as much a part of Indian systems of philosophy as it is of modern physical sciences, and in this particular matter, viz., scientific search for truth, we in India have not really much to learn, though in recent times the physical apparatus at the disposal of man has expanded considerably, thanks to the keenness of the West, and it has been possible to accumulate enormous data knowledge for these physical sciences. Of this knowledge, naturally we shall avail ourselves to the utmost, and we shall also resist the temptation to concentrate solely on the abstract pursuit of knowledge without regard to the application of this knowledge for the every day benefit of mankind. Philosophy and the pursuit of abstract knowledge are, so to speak, in our blood, and we do not need any special incentives for them.

It would have been more appropriate if someone better qualified than I, chosen from among the many distinguished countrymen of mine present here, eminent in arts, science and letters, had been asked to occupy my place here today, but Mrs. Naïdu, whose command I cannot disobey, was insistent that I should take this place here today, and while her decision will not have benefited the Conference, it has certainly benefited me in that it has given me the pleasant and enviable privilege of welcoming such a distinguished gathering to my country and to my city.

I welcome you all once again, ladies and gentlemen.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

The President next called upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to inaugurate the Conference. Rising to a great ovation, and speaking first in Hindustani and then in English, Pandit Nehru said :

Friends and fellow Asians,

What has brought you here, men and women of Asia ? Why have you come from the various countries of this mother continent of ours and gathered together in the ancient city of Delhi ? Some of us, greatly daring, sent you invitation for this Conference and

you gave a warm welcome to that invitation. And yet it was not merely that call from us but some deeper urge that brought you here.

We stand at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of history. Standing on this watershed which divides two epochs of human history and endeavour, we can look back on our long past and look forward to the future that is taking shape before our eyes. Asia, after a long period of quiescence, has suddenly become important again in world affairs. If we view the millennia of history, this continent of Asia, with which Egypt has been so intimately connected in cultural fellowship, has played a mighty rôle in the evolution of humanity. It was here that civilisation began and man started on his unending adventure of life. Here the mind of man searched unceasingly for truth and the spirit of man shone out like a beacon which lightened up the whole world.

This dynamic Asia from which great streams of culture flowed in all directions, gradually became static and unchanging. Other peoples and other continents came to the fore and with their new dynamism spread out and took possession of great parts of the world. This mighty continent became just a field for the rival imperialisms of Europe, and Europe became the centre of history and progress in human affairs.

A change is coming over the scene now and Asia is again finding herself. We live in a tremendous age of transition and already the next stage takes shape when Asia takes her rightful place with the other continents.

It is at this great moment that we meet here and it is the pride and privilege of the people of India to welcome their fellow Asians from other countries, to confer with them about the present and the future, and lay the foundation of our mutual progress, well-being and friendship.

The idea of having an Asian Conference is not new and many have thought of it. It is indeed surprising that it should not have been held many years earlier, yet perhaps the time was not ripe for it and any attempt to do so would have been superficial and not in tune with world events. It so happened that we in India convened this Conference, but the idea of such a Conference arose simul-

taneously in many minds and in many countries of Asia. There was a widespread urge and an awareness that the time had come for us, peoples of Asia, to meet together, to hold together and to advance together. It was not only a vague desire but a compulsion of events that forced all of us to think along these lines. Because of this, the invitation we in India sent out brought an answering echo and a magnificent response from every country of Asia.

We welcome you delegates and representatives from China, that great country to which Asia owes so much and from which so much is expected; from Egypt and the Arab countries of western Asia, inheritors of a proud culture which spread far and wide and influenced India greatly; from Iran whose contacts with India go back to the dawn of history; from Indonesia and Indo-China whose history is intertwined with India's culture, and where recently the battle of freedom has continued—a reminder to us that freedom must be won and cannot come as a gift; from Turkey that has been rejuvenated by the genius of a great leader; from Korea and Mongolia, Siam, Malaya and the Philippines; from the Soviet Republics of Asia which have advanced so rapidly in our generation and which have so many lessons to teach us; and from our neighbours Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon to whom we look especially for cooperation and close and friendly intercourse. Asia is very well represented at this Conference, and if one or two countries have been unable to send representatives, this was due to no lack of desire on their part or ours, but circumstances beyond our control came in the way. We welcome also observers from Australia and New Zealand because we have many problems in common, especially in the Pacific and in the southeast region of Asia, and we have to co-operate together to find solutions.

As we meet here today, the long past of Asia rises up before us, the troubles of recent years fade away, and a thousand memories revive. But I shall not speak to you of these past ages with their glories and triumphs and failures, nor of more recent times which have oppressed us so much and which still pursue us in some measure.

During the past two hundred years we have seen the growth of Western imperialisms and of the reduction of large parts of Asia to colonial or semi-colonial status. Much has happened during these

years, but perhaps one of the notable consequences of the European domination of Asia has been the isolation of the countries of Asia from one another. India always had contacts and intercourse with her neighbour countries in the northwest, the northeast, the east and the southeast. With the coming of British rule in India these contacts were broken off and India was almost completely isolated from the rest of Asia. The old land routes almost ceased to function and our chief window to the outer world looked out on the sea routes which led to England. A similar process affected the other countries of Asia also. Their entire economy was bound up with some European imperialism or other; even culturally they looked towards Europe and not to their own friends and neighbours from whom they had derived so much in the past.

Today this isolation is breaking down because of many reasons, political and other. The old imperialisms are fading away. The land routes have revived and air travel suddenly brings us very near to each other. This Conference itself is significant as an expression of that deeper urge of the mind and spirit of Asia which has persisted in spite of the isolationism which grew up during the years of European domination. As that domination goes, the walls that surrounded us fall down and we look at each other again and meet as old friends long parted.

In this Conference and in this work there are no leaders and no followers. All countries of Asia have to meet together on an equal basis in a common task and endeavour. It is fitting that India should play her part in this new phase of Asian development. Apart from the fact that India herself is emerging into freedom and independence, she is the natural centre and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia. Geography is a compelling factor, and geographically she is so situated as to be the meeting point of western and northern and eastern and southeast Asia. Because of this, the history of India is a long history of her relations with the other countries of Asia. Streams of culture have come to India from the west and the east and been absorbed in India, producing the rich and variegated culture which is India today. At the same time, streams of culture have flowed from India to distant parts of Asia. If you would know India you have to go to Afghanistan and western Asia, to Central Asia, to China and Japan and to the countries of southeast Asia. There you will find magnificent

evidence of the vitality of India's culture which spread out and influenced vast numbers of people.

There came the great cultural stream from Iran to India in remote antiquity. And then that constant intercourse between India and the Far East, notably China. In later years southeast Asia witnessed an amazing efflorescence of Indian art and culture. The mighty stream which started from Arabia and developed as a mixed Irano-Arabic culture poured into India. All these came to us and influenced us, and yet so great was the powerful impress of India's own mind and culture that it could accept them without being itself swept away or overwhelmed. Nevertheless we all changed in the process and in India today all of us are mixed products of these various influences. An Indian, wherever he may go in Asia, feels a sense of kinship with the land he visits and the people he meets.

I do not wish to speak to you of the past but rather of the present. We meet here not to discuss our past history and contacts but to forge links for the future. And may I say here that this Conference, and the idea underlying it, is in no way aggressive or against any other continent or country? Ever since news of this Conference went abroad some people in Europe and America have viewed it with doubt imagining that this was some kind of a Pan-Asian movement directed against Europe or America. We have no designs against anybody; ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world. For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in Western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and to co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others.

In this crisis in world history Asia will necessarily play a vital rôle. The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others; they are bound to have their own policies in world affairs. Europe and America have contributed very greatly to human progress and for that we must yield them praise and honour, and learn from them the many lessons they have to teach. But the West has also driven us into wars and conflicts without number and even now, the day after a terrible war, there is talk of further wars in the atomic age that is upon us. In this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed there

can be no peace unless Asia plays her part. There is today conflict in many countries, and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless, the whole spirit and outlook of Asia are peaceful, and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace.

Peace can only come when nations are free and also when human beings everywhere have freedom and security and opportunity. Peace and freedom, therefore, have to be considered both in their political and economic aspects. The countries of Asia, we must remember, are very backward and the standards of life are appallingly low. These economic problems demand urgent solution or else crisis and disaster might overwhelm us. We have, therefore, to think in terms of the common man and fashion our political, social and economic structure so that the burdens that have crushed him be removed, and he may have full opportunity for growth.

We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of that 'One World' and some kind of a world federation seems to be essential though there are many dangers and obstacles in the way. We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of this larger world group. We therefore support the United Nations structure which is painfully emerging from its infancy. But in order to have 'One World' we must also in Asia think of the countries of Asia co-operating together for that larger ideal.

This Conference, in a small measure, represents this bringing together of the countries of Asia. Whatever it may achieve, the mere fact of its taking place is itself of historic significance. Indeed this occasion is unique in history for never before has such a gathering met together at any place. So even in meeting we have achieved much and I have no doubt that out of this meeting greater things will come. When the history of our present times is written, this event may well stand out as a landmark which divides the past of Asia from the future. And because we are participating in this making of history, something of the greatness of historic events comes to us all.

This Conference will split up into committees and groups to discuss various problems which are of common concern to all of us. We shall not discuss the internal politics of any country because

that is rather beyond the scope of our present meeting. Naturally we are interested in these internal politics because they act and react on each other, but we may not discuss them at this stage, for if we do so, we may lose ourselves in interminable arguments and complications. We may fail to achieve the purpose for which we have met. I hope that out of this Conference some permanent Asian Institute for the study of common problems and to bring about closer relations will emerge; also perhaps a School of Asian Studies. Further, we might be able to organise interchange of visits and exchanges of students and professors so that we might know each other better. There is much else we can do, but I shall not venture to enumerate all these subjects for it is for you to discuss them and arrive at some decisions.

We seek no narrow nationalism. Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered, but it must not be allowed to become aggressive and come in the way of international development. Asia stretches her hand out in friendship to Europe and America as well as to our suffering brethren in Africa. We in Asia have a special responsibility to the people of Africa. We must help them to take their rightful place in the human family. The freedom that we envisage is not to be confined to this nation or that or to a particular people, but must spread out over the whole human race. That universal human freedom cannot also be based on the supremacy of any particular class. It must be the freedom of the common man everywhere and full of opportunities for him to develop.

We think today of the great architects of Asian freedom—Sun Yat-sen, Zaghul Pasha, the Ataturk Kemal Pasha and others, whose labours have borne fruit. We think also of that great figure whose labours and whose inspiration have brought India to the threshold of her independence—Mahatma Gandhi. We miss him at this Conference and I yet hope that he may visit us before our labours end. He is engrossed in the service of the common man in India, and even this Conference could not drag him away from it.

All over Asia we are passing through trials and tribulations. In India also you will see conflict and trouble. Let us not be disheartened by this; this is inevitable in an age of mighty transition. There is a new vitality and powerful creative impulse in all the peoples of Asia. The masses are awake and demand

NAWAB SALAH UDDIN BAHADUR



Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, President of the Conference and leader of the Indian delegation

their heritage. Strong winds are blowing all over Asia. Let us not be afraid of them but rather welcome them for only with their help can we build the new Asia of our dreams. Let us have faith in these great new forces and the things which are taking shape. Above all let us have faith in the human spirit which Asia has symbolised for these long ages past.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Pandit Nehru's speech was followed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's presidential address. Rising amidst continued cheering and hailing the audience as 'Comrades and Kindred of Asia' Mrs. Naidu said :

You will wonder why a mere woman has been chosen to occupy the great place of honour to-day. The answer is simple. India has always honoured her women. I am so deeply moved when I behold this marvellous gathering of the nations of Asia, that almost, but only almost, I am stricken dumb. It takes so much to strike a woman dumb. My brother and leader and the hero of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said all that could be said, and said it beautifully. I can only paraphrase and re-echo in my own poor manner the great thoughts that he has put into words in welcoming you today.

I wonder how many of you who have come journeying across steep mountain passes, floating on the vast bosom of many-coloured seas, riding amid the clouds of dawn and darkness realise that we stand to-day, here and now, not only in the heart of Asia, but the very core and centre of India's heart. This *Purana Qila*, this historic ruin, the broken arches—what do they signify? They signify the dawn of history, the history of many forgotten ages. And they also symbolise the dawn of a new era beckoning today. Here was the capital of Hindu supremacy many centuries ago, that now lives only in song and legend. Here are monuments raised by those who came to conquer, but stayed to become children of the soil. The mosque of Sher Shah is here. Other monuments are here. The dreamer, the great dreamer, Humayun, gazing at the stars used to sit up at his watch tower and dream of the destiny of unborn ages. History is in every stone, history sleeps hidden but living in every acre, in every patch of the soil of Hindustan. Kings have walked here, warriors have walked there, where little children are playing today. But today, because it is not the time for children's play, we have summoned you to a great gathering

of the nations of Asia to make a great declaration for the future of Asia. We may have our own movements of freedom, but we have come here to take an indestructible pledge of the unity of Asia so that the world in ruin could be redeemed from sorrow, unhappiness, exploitation, misery, poverty, ignorance, disaster and death.

What has Asia always stood for ? We have read so many things about the deeds of Asia, cruel, barbarous—it all depends upon who writes our history. But there is one thing—it is the most authentic feature of this great continent—that beckons every nation of Asia to come and partake of the common ideal of peace—not the peace of negation, not the peace of surrender, not the peace of the coward, not the peace of the dying, not the peace of the dead, but the peace, militant, dynamic, creative, of the human spirit which exalts. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has told us of the human spirit being but a demonstration of the renaissance of the spirit of Asia. Has human spirit ever died ? Human spirit may sometimes be defeated, but it can never die. But today, across the length and breadth of our great continent, in the small, far off, inaccessible places and mountains, the little known hamlets in the far off clime of Asia, these little mountain heights of Tibet, in the great, mysterious country known as China, in that exquisitely poetic country known as Iran, that great country known as Afghanistan, in that country of splendid tradition known as Egypt—in all those and other countries, great and small, there is today a spirit that says ‘we are alive.’ We had been buried for centuries, we had forgotten the splendours of our past, the teachings of our ancestors, the writings of our poets, the banners of our heroes. We had forgotten them for a little while and we believed that we were dead. But when the spring time calls to us, the heart throbs.

Is there any man so dead, so deeply buried in the tomb that his heart does not beat to the calls of the birds of spring time ? Is there any one so dead, whose spirit is not enchanted—whether living or dying—by the first fragrance and first blossoms of the spring ? It stirs such people as are divided from one another, as the Kashmiri and the Telugu—the Kashmiri Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the gentleman of Andhra *desa* whom I have married. Spring time has no date. It does not confine itself to the flowering of trees and singing of birds ; it depends upon the attitude to life and the approach to life.

And what will Asia do with her renaissance ? Will she arm herself for battles to conquer, to annex and exploit, or rather, will she forge new weapons and re-fashion her armoury in accordance with ancient ideals, as soldiers of peace and missionaries of love ? My great and beloved leader, Mahatma Gandhi, has taught us that not through bitterness and hate, not through anger and strife, but through compassion, love and forgiveness shall the world be redeemed. And this is not a new message. It is an old message of Asia reinforced by the experience, adventure, suffering and hope of the Indian people. By love and not by hate shall the world be redeemed.

Therefore, India has beckoned to her kindred of Asia to come and understand the new message and hope of the whole world. When we started the idea of this Conference, I remember with amusement and pain a variety of emotions that emerged from the unexpressed questions that were looked at, because they were not spoken. 'What is this ? An Asian bloc against Europe ? A conspiracy of Asian people against Western civilisation ?' I said how great a compliment it is to one poor woman who signs a humble invitation—that she should symbolise red to centuries of Western civilisation ! I thought of all the countries whose names thrilled me when I was small. What was the picture that came before my eyes when I thought of those names ? China, Egypt, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Persia and all those other countries—Bali with its great sculpture and painting, the Japanese dancers with their fingers, Egypt mysterious with the pyramids of the Pharaohs, and now a modern nation. I still do not know the physical position of many countries, whether they are contiguous or whether they are divided. But one thing I know—that mountain passes and riverways of the world cannot divide the heart of Asia. The differences of tongue, of costumes, customs, food, ways of enjoyment—all those things that make for the social life of people—and it seems so curious in many ways—cannot divide the heart of Asia. Rather, the great diversity of Asian culture has cemented the unity of the Asian people. Who wants a monotonous culture ? Who wants a uniform culture ? Who wants a colourless culture ? Who wants one country to imitate another ? It is rather the richness and variety, the diversity and sometimes the conflict of one culture with another that is the guarantee and prophecy of a real, abiding and dynamic unity. And that is what we want, what he wants—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—

and what Mahatma Gandhi wants, what my people who speak for the Indian nation want. Diversity of culture, unity of heart and pursuit ; because Asia must bring to the pool its own contribution, its own particular mode of life, its own particular vision of life, its own approach to life. And it is all these varieties of human experience that make for a great civilisation.

India is not a civilisation of one unit. India today is not a Hindu India of the Vedic ages. My ancestors, the ancestors of Pandit Nehru, were influenced by the streams that came from western Asia, the streams that came with all their depths from the Arab world, the great democratic ideals that came through the Arab traders of India—all those influenced our introspective philosophy, taught us the great ideal of brotherhood and enriched the dreams of our own philosophers. And you have a great philosopher sitting there, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, and I hope he is nodding his head at what I am saying. The Western stream of culture that came with the message of the Prophet, the great democratic ideal became in time an inalienable part of our national culture. Those streams of culture came and fed as tributaries the vast ocean of India. The great band that fled from Persia, the Chinese travellers that came painfully and piously across the mountain groups, the great scholars that came from all over, from across the seas and the wastes, to learn at various schools in India—all these came as seekers of truth. Even those who came to spoil, plunder and loot brought with them—in spite of themselves, unawares—the gifts of civilisation and became part of Indian life and culture. So, today if India, my India, has issued an invitation and summoned the people of the east and west of Asia to come to this great gathering, has she—who has been the custodian of our own cultures as of yours, one of the great achievements of Asia—not the right to do so ? Did we not in our own turn send to southeast Asia the great treasure of ours in India, Gautama Buddha—the teaching of peace ? Did we not send to China, to Japan, to Ceylon, to Burma, the influence, philosophy and wisdom of India and the teachings of Gautama Buddha ? Did we not send to Babylon, to Egypt, to the furthestmost corners of Asia with our merchandise, the treasure of our arts, the teachings of our literature, the wisdom of our sages and the splendour of our ideals ? Then did we not take willingly and gladly, whether from friend or foe, from any part of the world—from friend or foe I repeat—all that knowledge would give, for we have never been a people so limited in our vision that we said,

'this knowledge belongs to us; that knowledge does not belong to us.' We have always said that knowledge is universal and therefore we shall disseminate our knowledge and render it back to the world, because India has been the universal custodian of many influences which other nations had created but had forgotten.

I bid you welcome to my Mother's Home. I bid you welcome so that once more you may re-remember your ancient greatness and so that you and we together may dream a common dream of our Asia and how our Asia can redeem the world. Asia shall not be a country of enemies. Asia should be a country of fellowship of the world. How should you and I, speaking different tongues and bringing interpreters, sufficiently understand one another, may I ask, to make a common charter for the Asian people for their freedom and the freedom of the world? I have never found that a lack of vocabulary, a lack of dictionary knowledge of words, ever prevented true understanding between hearts that were agreed and were ready to understand and co-operate.

Therefore, we are at the first spring time of the world; when the birds sing; when waters smile at the sight of the sun; when flowers blossom and young brides put flowers on their hair and children make garlands of them; and when you remember all those who have gone before. I bid you, arise from your grave; I bid you, become the bard of the eternal spring time; I bid you, arise and say, 'there is no death, there shall be no death for those who move onward, united in a spirit of undefeatable hope and courage.' We shall move together, the people of Asia, undefeated by disaster and not discouraged by anything that may befall other people. It is part of my creed and tradition, part of my heritage to believe that nothing can die that is good. When my father who was one of the great men of the world was about to die, his last words to young friends were, 'there is no birth, there is no death, there is only the spirit seeking evolution in higher and higher stages of life.' That is the history of India, that is the history of Asia. And I bid you, whatever your creed, whatever your faith, whatever your tongue, remember there is no birth, there is no death; we move onward and onward, higher and higher till we attain the stars. Let us move on to the stars. Who can hamper our ascent? Who will bid us and say, 'halt, thus far and no further?' No. The birds have said, 'why do you cry for the moon?' We do not cry for the moon. We pluck it from the skies and wear it upon the diadem of Asia's freedom.

MESSAGES

Messages were then read by the Secretary (printed in Appendix A). The leaders of the various delegations then spoke one by one conveying the greetings of their respective countries to the Conference. They were called in the alphabetical order of the countries from which they came. The first to speak was Dr. Abdul Majid Khan from Afghanistan. Dr. Khan said :

SPEECHES BY LEADERS OF DELEGATIONS

I have great pleasure in being able to speak here tonight. If we examine more closely the events of the past few years their dominant facts will indicate that we have to live together if we are to live at all. This will only be possible through a better understanding and a closer co-operation between the peace-loving nations of the world ; discussion and conference held in various places each year will certainly strengthen the bond of friendship and will better international relations. This, I am sure, may be brought about through successful interchange of cultural activities. In fact the further progress of the nations, and for that matter of mankind as a whole, is to be sought not through the strifes and hatreds, but rather through the promotion of brotherhood amongst each other and by their friendly co-operation in the growth of a spirit of friendship and mutual confidence.

The present efforts and the undertaking of the Asian Relations Conference which are especially bent towards the fulfilment of these noble purposes are to be greatly appreciated. For, as James Bryce once put it, 'The thought of any one people is most active when it is brought with the thought of another, because each is apt to lose its variety and freedom of play when it has worked too long upon familiar lines and flowed too long in the channels it has deepened.' Hence isolation retards progress, while intercourse quickens it. We are sure, therefore, that the efforts of this institution towards promoting a more intimate collaboration and a better understanding among peoples of Asian countries will soon be crowned with success and will certainly enable us to live a better life socially, culturally as well as economically.

The cultural ties and relations of the Afghan people with the Indian nation dates back to times immemorial, and the bonds of friendship which hold us together are genuine and strong. They

MAJID SALAR JUNG BAHADUR



Mrs. Naidu, President of the Conference, greeting Dr. Abdul Majid of the Kabul University. Pandit Nehru is on the right

likewise sincerely desire to co-operate with other Asian nations, and for that matter, with all the nations of the world, for the purpose of growth and accomplishment of these high ideals. We are sure that such honest and sincere co-operation and understanding among all the nations will ultimately lead to a stable and lasting peace and international security which are the highest aspirations of humanity at large. Thank you.

Next to speak were the heads of delegations from Armenia and Azerbaijan. Mr. Kalantar of Armenia said :

I have the honour to represent the country and the people who have now reached an exceptionally flourishing stage of all these creative forces. This is a country of one of the most ancient cultures of the world, a country the name of which, in the legends of many peoples of Asia and Europe, is connected with the idea of the cradle of mankind. This is the country where the mountain Ararat, the very name of which is sacred to these peoples rises high into the sky and where from spring the Euphrates and the Tigris, Araks and Kura. Vying with ancient cultures of Babylon and Assyria, of Iran and India, the people of the Ararat country were untiringly building their life. They tilled this land, built irrigation canals, constructed towns and fortresses, palaces and temples.

Being an Asian people and at the same time living at the crossing point of two worlds—the Asian and the European—the Armenian people succeeded in the creation of a culture in which the best traditions of the East merged with cultural achievements of the West. The rich ancient literature and the magnificent architecture of Armenia bear witness to this fact. In this synthetic, creative labour the Armenian people could succeed only because they created their culture in close collaboration and contact with other nations of the East and among them, with the great Indian people whose hospitality we enjoy today and on whose initiative this Conference has been convened. The hospitality of India is well known to the Armenian people. In the past when Armenia was overrun by armies of foreign conquerors and the people were deprived of their national independence, many thousands of Armenians left their motherland and found their home in a friendly and culturally kindred country—India. Here, in Calcutta and Madras, sprang up Armenian cultural centres which played not a

small part in the restoration of Armenian culture at a later date. The Armenian people could not but greatly appreciate this friendly attitude of great India. This is why we, members of the delegation from Soviet Armenia, could not but feel a great emotion when we set foot on Indian soil last night.

The time of severe hardships is gone for ever for the Armenian people. Having entered the great family of peoples of the Soviet Union, the Armenian people have once again obtained their national independence and culture which during the last twenty-seven years has reached the heights of an unprecedented upsurge. We shall tell you yet in detail about our achievements at the later sessions of this Conference. Now we wish the Conference every success in its work for the cause of the consolidation of the cultural forces of the Asian peoples. We wish to convey our greetings and best wishes to the organisers of this Conference and specially to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Nehru.

Mr. Ibrahimoff from Azerbaijan said :

Permit me on behalf of the Azerbaijan people to greet the delegates and the organisers of the first Conference of the Asian people which is taking place in one of the most ancient cities of India—Delhi. I express my highest hopes that the work of this Conference will greatly help the cause of the regeneration of the democratic and progressive forces of the Asian peoples in their struggle for prosperity.

The peoples of Asia are longing for freedom and independence and their life interests demand the creation of closer social, political and economic conditions, thanks to which they will be able to rise to the level of contemporary culture and civilisation. But the forces which repeatedly drew the world into terrible wars, sent to death millions of human lives, and destroyed buildings, factories, schools and universities, are interested in the preservation of backward forms of life in Asia.

History teaches that without national liberty and sovereignty, and especially without economic independence, neither a single country nor a single people can be really free. This has been proved in history from the example of the Soviet republics. Azerbaijan was formerly a colony of Czarist Russia and before the great socialist

Revolution it was one of the most backward corners of Asia where prevailed a reign of feudal and patriarchal relations, of a social and national yoke, of the poverty and backwardness of the masses. The great October Revolution destroyed these forces as well as the conditions that gave birth to them. During the years of Soviet power, Azerbaijan became a prominent industrial republic. Soviet power has changed the face of Azerbaijan's villages. Azerbaijan is an example of the national co-operation of peoples. During the years of Soviet power, Azerbaijan has created its advanced culture which is national in its form and socialist in its content.

The people of Azerbaijan have received all those opportunities for the further development and enrichment of culture which progressive humanity has ever created. More than sixty scientific research institutions with that centre of the Republic's scientific thought, the Academy of Science of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, and sixteen universities using their own national language are now functioning in Azerbaijan where before Soviet power there existed not a single scientific research institution.

The creation of a national economy and the development of culture in Soviet Azerbaijan have given the opportunity of making more fruitful the exchange of cultural treasures of the Azerbaijan people with other Asian peoples. Even in the distant past the cultural connections of Azerbaijan with the other peoples of the East were rich and many-sided. Now they can become even more so. The fact of my participation in the work of this Conference on behalf of the people whom I represent must help this. I would like to express my thanks to the organisers of this Conference and to Mr Nehru in particular. I express my hope that the Conference will successfully cope with the tasks which confront it.

Then came Mr. J. P. Dorji of Bhutan. In a brief speech he said :

As a representative of Bhutan, a small country perched right up on the Himalayas, I offer you fraternal greetings, cordial and pure like the air of our mountains, and wish this Conference, unique in the history of Asia, every success for the happiness and welfare of our peoples, and express the hope that this tender plant, planted in the ancient and fertile soil of India, will one day become

a mighty tree as a symbol of our aspirations, love and bond of the solidarity of our continent.

In the name of Bhutan, I salute you, people of Asia.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint, leader of the Burmese delegation, spoke next. He said :

I never realised when I accepted somewhat lightheartedly the task imposed upon me by the acknowledged leader of our country General Aung San, the burden of leading a deputation to this Conference, how heavy it was going to be. I do make a statement and as a good lawyer I shall not dare to tell a lie before such an audience. I represent at the moment a youthful leader who is just running 32. It was just the age when I came here in 1931 about the time of the piece of ancient history known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. I say it is ancient history because events have marched rapidly since then. Today events are so swift that the situation, political, human, humanitarian, economic, social and religious, changes not merely from day to day but from hour to hour. Then I came here somewhat lightheartedly as an irresponsible legislator. Today I come as some one responsible, responsible not to anybody else, but to this Conference, to this great leader, to this great lady, responsible in the sense that I am in duty bound to contribute what I can to the success of this Conference. That duty I may assure you is quite heavy.

After all, although I come perhaps a little more cheerfully than any other person might have in the same or similar circumstances, I may say I have lived through the enemy occupation of my country for three long years. When the British left us,—I do not blame them ; when the odds are against you, you go ; let me pay them a tribute ; let history record this tribute ; they were magnificent ; but when they did go, sometime in the early months of 1942—we were left helpless, alone. We fought and fought until the very end, till the invader went away. We fought spiritually, mentally ; we fought with our minds ; we fought with our culture which we inherited from this great country through twenty-five centuries. After all religion is culture and culture is religion in a sense.

Sometime about the eleventh century when war began, that was the golden age of our architecture and culture. But things rise



Mrs. Naidu, President of the Conference, greeting The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint, Leader of the Burmese delegation. Pandit Nehru is on the right

only to fall and fall only to rise, and we rose after that. For some time we were a vassal of China. We had a final tussle with the British when they took a large part of Burma somewhere about 1885, although it took them three long years to subjugate us. We have always fought and we have been fighting. We have been beaten; but although we were so few in numbers we had a tremendous culture and that abiding sense of religion with us. This had a tremendous effect—the culture inherited by us. I repeat it again because I want you to realise this.

Friends, I feel here I am a man in his own home. Here I stand as leader of a delegation from one of the nearest of your neighbours. You may be near and still may be very far away. We are contiguous to the centre of culture. We are near in thought; we are literally near, geographically, socially and culturally. I represent your nearest neighbour, Burma. Also I represent for the moment, because I am not a member of his party, the acknowledged leader of Burma. And this is the message I have the honour now to read on behalf of General Aung San.

“On the momentous occasion when the nations of Asia are gathered together at a Conference with the avowed object of forging new and lasting ties of friendship and mutual goodwill, I send to the countries engaged in this noble task the warmest greetings of the Burmese people and the Burma Government. The proposal to hold a Conference of the countries of Asia has evoked a feeling of widespread satisfaction in Burma, and the people here are all the more gratified that the proposal has taken a concrete form in the present Conference. It is realised that the countries present at the Conference have had to contend with many difficulties to make the Conference possible. Apart from the difficulties caused by the lack of transport facilities between countries, there are other and more serious hardships resulting from the subjection of these countries to the iniquitous consequences of an expansionist exploitation. The distinctive feature that the nations of Asia are now ready boldly to face these and other difficulties, and to take the bull by the horns, so to say, is a sign that augurs well for the future of Asia and for the cause of the independence of the Asian peoples. I would therefore have come to New Delhi myself and taken part in the deliberations of a Conference that holds so many possibilities for the future of our countries, had not urgent reasons of public interest and

importance demanded my presence in Burma. But I am glad to be able to send to this great gathering a delegation consisting of a selected team of members led by the Hon'ble U Kyaw Myint, one of the judges of the High Court of Judicature at Rangoon. I have no doubt that the Conference will be guided in the task before it by a new consciousness of the oneness of Asia and also by the supreme necessity on the part of all the countries of Asia to stand together in weal and woe.

I wish the Asian Relations Conference every success and pray that the corner stone to the edifice of an all-Asian unity and solidarity has been well and truly laid at the Conference."

Mr. Kyaw Myint continued: What happened to my country during the enemy occupation is a story, I suppose, that will have to be recorded sometime as a historical event. We are not going to remember that past with any feelings of bitterness or sorrow. The great thing is we now realise individually and nationally that as humanity we are now alive; not only Asia but the whole world is alive. We are pulsating with a new life. That is the spirit in which we now contribute what we can to this Conference. We prepared for this not for years but for generations. It took you in India something about a century and a half or two centuries to suffer enough so that you could wake up and do something about it. You have done something. You are now about to be free. We have always had the good luck to be able to follow your example with very little effort. Because you are about to be free, we are about to be free. However, we have also contributed our little mite.

Mr. Dang Ngoc Chan, leader of the delegation from Cambodia, Cochin China and Laos, then greeted the Conference in the following words:

On behalf of the Indo-China delegation I thank you for the invitation you have extended to us. I have great pleasure on behalf of the Cultural Society of Indo-China to have this occasion to attend this great Conference sponsored by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Today India extends a friendly hand to help us again—to follow the great cultural ways at the head of which she stands and we are happy to take the outstretched hand.



Burmese delegates arriving at the Conference Auditorium

Indo-China was followed by Ceylon whose leader, the Hon'ble Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, spoke as follows :

On behalf of my country I wish to express our appreciation and gratitude to the Indian Council of World Affairs for organising this great Conference of Asia. I think it will be generally agreed that it is a Conference not only of the first importance, but also in many ways, of a unique character.

It is but fitting that it should be held at this historic spot of this most historic city, where many memories of a past glory can inspire us in our efforts to forge a greater glory of the future. It is equally appropriate that its labours should be guided by one whose poetic vision is only equalled by her undying patriotism, and that associated with its work there should be such a great leader as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whose service and sacrifice, whose sincerity and self-dedication are a source of inspiration not only to his own countrymen but to us all. He possesses in a pre-eminent degree another essential qualification. His unrivalled understanding of the pattern of human history befits him for the great task of making human history.

We of the present generation throughout the world, particularly, may I say, in Asia, have the great privilege of living at one of the most critical and crucial moments of history. In Asia, the ebbing tide of Western imperialism has brought close to us the realisation of the thing of which we have all dreamed, for which so many have toiled and suffered so long—freedom.

It is indeed opportune that we are meeting here at a time when the long trail appears to be ending, when the promised land seems to be in sight, in order that, in a friendly and informal atmosphere, we can take stock of the situation, assess the potentialities and opportunities that freedom will confer, and also realise the grave responsibilities that it will undoubtedly involve. Among the advantages that we hope to reap are, spiritually, the removal of that degradation of the soul which servitude brings in its train; materially, the achievement of freedom from poverty and want, from disease and ignorance, and the assurance to all, as far as lies in our power, of equal opportunities and a just standard of living; psychologically, the elimination of fear—fear of ourselves and of

each other ; culturally, the fostering of our languages, literatures and art and our ways of life that are so much a part of our very being. While we view these opportunities with a justifiable measure of elation, let us also consider the corresponding responsibilities with a due measure of sobriety.

It is unfortunately a melancholy fact of history that when the petrifying effect of foreign rule disappears, just as noble impulses are released, so too at times baser motives of selfishness and internal conflict and weakness rise to the surface. As Roman rule decayed and died in Europe, its countries were plunged into a protracted period of conflict and chaos, rightly termed the Dark Ages, out of which Europe struggled to the light only after centuries of pain and labour. We cannot allow that type of history to repeat itself. We just cannot afford the luxury of leisure ; we cannot expect leisurely to advance towards order and progress through a preliminary welter of suspicion conflict and disorder either internally or externally. In our own interest, in the interest of humanity, we must make a supreme effort to skip some pages of history, to bridge a gulf of history, and step out into the sunlit land of freedom prepared straightaway, or at least with the briefest interregnum, to take an equal place, and to share an equal responsibility, with the free and progressive nations of the world.

I am only too well aware of the serious difficulties that face us in achieving that object. Internally, conflicts of a communal and of an ideological nature ; externally, mutual suspicion and distrust ; generally, difficulties, political, economic, administrative and strategic. But let us also remember this. On the measure in which we succeed in overcoming these difficulties, will depend not only our own fate but that of humanity as well.

Far from the last war having ended war we can already see the dark clouds gathering in the distance. Asia may well hold the key to the new world situation that is developing and may not only provide the battle-ground but also prove to be the deciding factor in a future conflict. Her position may be even more crucial—on her may depend the momentous issue of whether there is to be a war at all.

If Asia is free, reasonably strong and united, that future conflict may well be averted. If she is weak, disunited and unfree

SAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR



A group of Chinese delegates

then there is not much hope either for her or for the world. For war will be immeasurably closer—and the next war will set back human progress for many years to come. The only remedy is for us to make a supreme effort to achieve unity and harmony in Asia; unity in our own countries, as well as amongst our different lands.

This Conference is surely a right move in that direction. Very wisely it has set for itself a modest object at this stage—the object of our meeting each other and of discussing and getting to know each other's problems. I am sure that it is the hope of us all that this Conference is only the beginning of something much greater—a federation of free and equal Asian countries, working not merely for our own advantage but for the progress and peace of all mankind. It is a high ideal, but not one, I venture to hope, that is impossible of attainment. I, who, as a Buddhist, believe in the supremacy of the human mind, hesitate to place any arbitrary limits to the possibilities of human achievement.

POWER SALAR JING CHAI-DU

Let us address ourselves to that task with humility, but also with an unswerving determination; let us derive inspiration from our high ideal, but let us also not forget the bounds of reality; let us walk with our heads amongst the stars, but see that our feet are firmly planted on the earth, and then we shall not fail.

On behalf of my country I pledge you every possible help and co-operation in this noble venture.

The President, Mrs. Naidu, then called upon 'the representative of our great neighbour, China' to speak, whereupon the leader of the Chinese delegation, Mr. Cheng Yin-fun, observed :

On behalf of the Chinese delegation I should like to express my thanks for the warm welcome extended to us by the distinguished chairman of this meeting, who is also leader of the Indian delegation. Mrs. Naidu is well known to us as one who combines the best of Asian and Western cultures. In this she typifies the genius of the Indian people who have the eminent gift of harmonising various elements from many civilisations into one whole.

From the speech we have just heard from Pandit Nehru, may I also be permitted to add that much of the charm of India lies in this fact; she combines a heart with a mellow mind. With roots

deep in her ancient past she reaches out with eager hands to pluck the fruits of modern science and knowledge. In this way only lies progress.

Gathered together from all over Asia we are meeting for a few days at this Conference to discuss matters of common interest to all Asian peoples. It is unimportant that we should arrive at any definite conclusions on any subjects on the agenda but it is most important for the success of this Conference that frankness and sincerity in an atmosphere of friendliness should be the keynote of all our deliberations. Without frankness and sincerity we shall only be beating about the bush and flapping our wings in the void. So far as the Chinese delegation is concerned we hope that this Conference will enable the Asian peoples to understand one another better. But real understanding comes not as the result of mere wishing; like all things worth while in human relations it comes only from hard work and humility to learn from one another. Let all of us therefore who are here dedicate ourselves to the task. The need is great; the benefits are even greater; for with real understanding of one another we shall build on deep and firm foundations the peace and well being of Asia and the world.

Another thing which we hope will be done by this Conference is the exploration of ways and means to co-operate together economically and culturally for the good of all Asian peoples. The Chinese delegation regards this Conference as a sort of bridge between Asia and the rest of the world. We must know ourselves first before we can know others. But our aim should not be confined to our own Asian frontiers. The world is our province. 'Within the four seas all men are brothers', runs an old Chinese saying. Let each Asian people contribute the best of what it has to offer so that the world may be made the richer thereby. Nothing short of the happiness and prosperity of all mankind should be our ultimate objective. Only thus can Asia have peace and stability, and only thus can we make the world our home instead of a battlefield.

Mr. Mostafa Momin from Egypt spoke next. He said :

It is a point of great pleasure for me to be among you in this historic moment when the representatives of this great continent, Asia, have gathered to discuss their cultural and economic rela-

tions. The eyes of the hundreds of millions of our peoples are focussed on Delhi, the capital of this great sub-continent. I also wish to thank the promoters of this Conference for the opportunity they have made available to us to meet the people of our sister nations and discuss vital problems common to all of us. This is the first conference of its kind in the history of this continent. After years of foreign domination, under some form or other, liberty has dawned and the world is destined to see another renaissance in Asia.

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This continent has resources and its people have in the past led the world in the realms of thought and industry. This continent has been the cradle of the first civilisation known to man, and with the combined efforts of its people it is bound to occupy its rightful place in the world today. Let us co-operate and defend our rightful heritage. Our survival is in our unity. Our destination is far. Let us co-operate and march, for one hand can never clap.

The Opening Session adjourned at this stage to meet again the next day, when, the President said, leaders of delegations from the remaining countries would convey greetings to the Conference.

THE SECOND SESSION

24 March 1947

The second Opening Plenary Session of the Asian Relations Conference met again in *Purana Qila*, Delhi, at 5 p.m. on Monday, 24 March 1947, with the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in the chair. Before the speeches from leaders of delegations were resumed, the President introduced Miss Karima El-Said of the Egyptian Feminist Union and delegate for Egypt, and called upon her to read the message she had brought to the Conference from Madam Sharavi Pasha, 'a name known throughout the Arab World'. Miss Said then read the message which was as follows :

“On behalf of the women of Egypt represented by their Feminist Union under the presidency of Madame Sharavi Pasha, I have the honour and pleasure to express to you our great admiration for the grand effort you have made towards oriental co-operation to which you are giving scope by arranging this Conference. I have been asked to deliver to you their message of friendship and best wishes for the success you deserve for your noble attempt. India and Egypt are very closely connected to each other by strong ties of unity of national suffering and national aspiration. Under such circumstances they cannot but stand side by side in their struggle for liberty, independence and prosperity, to which they are both fully entitled. Their ancient civilisations which go back to thousands of years and which made them the pioneers that led the rest of the world to the knowledge of science and art, ought to give them their special position in the world of today. They are at least entitled to claim of the West, respect for their existence. Moreover the colossal sacrifices and the great help they offered to Europe in times of distress and difficulty caused by the war must be taken into serious consideration. They put all their territory and resources at the disposal of the Allies. Owing to its geographical position Egypt became during the war the most important field in the Middle East for military activities by land, sea and air. It was also the most important centre of provisions. This could not have been the case had it not been for the honest and willing co-operation of the people who did that because they believed that they were doing their share in the defence of the right to freedom of all nations great and small. In doing that, however, we risked the disastrous results that might have befallen us should the Axis have won the war; and this, as you all know, seemed at one time not only possible but even probable. We thus stood by the side of the Allies during the blackest and most desperate days of the war, namely, at the Battle of El Alamen, which was destined to decide the history of the war in their favour; thanks to the people of Egypt who co-operated to the utmost, gave every help and facility and refused to stab them in the back at that most critical moment. Had it not been for the immense sacrifices in life, property and provisions, in which Egypt stands exactly in the same position as India, Great Britain would not have enjoyed the victorious position it now occupies as one of the great nations of the world.

It is, however, disappointing that during the war British statesmen sang their praises of the East and spoke very highly of its grand contribution to the hoped-for final victory. But now that victory is actually won and the time has come for paying back their debts and for a fair and definite settlement of our national questions, they speak in a different language. Not merely that; to get out of their responsibilities they sow the seeds of dissension and civil war such as they do in Egypt and Sudan and many other places.

It is indeed high time for the people of the East to learn the value of union and co-operation in order to be really able to oppose imperialism and to stand in the face of its evils. The women of Egypt who realise the seriousness and even the danger of the hour are indeed ready to stand hand in hand with their friends of the East in their struggle for freedom which is the only possible foundation for universal brotherhood."

The President said that she would convey the thanks of the women of all delegations to the great leader of the feminist movement in Egypt for her cheering message. She then welcomed the Observer for the Arab League to the Conference who had arrived only on that day and invited him to take his seat on the dais.

The President next called upon Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (delegate for India) to read the message that had come from 'a very great Chinese friend', Dr. Tai Chi-t'ao. Mrs. Pandit then read the message which was as follows :

"Seven years passed since I last visited India. During five out of those seven years, more than half the world has been ravaged by war. Even the peoples of countries not involved in the war have not been free from its influence. Unprecedented calamities have befallen mankind. This human suffering, to my mind, was caused by greed, anger, ignorance and stupidity, let loose by wicked propaganda, with consequences too horrible to contemplate. That tyrants and mischief makers should miserably perish is what we all expect, but it is a pity that so many good people should also have shared the same fate. The war has now ended but chaotic conditions still prevail, especially in the continent of Asia. Any person possessing a spark of humanity in him cannot but feel sad indeed.

The Asian Relations Conference could yield a crop of goodwill to mankind. Incidentally it coincides precisely with my own desire cherished for over thirty years. Because of the improved means of sea, land and air communications the world has been drawn closer together. We sink and float together. No one nation can exclude itself from the rest of the world and exist. No more can a single person detach himself from the common fate of humanity.

Asia is the birthplace of the principal civilisations and religions. In the course of the past five thousand years, great saints have been born in Asia. Whatever the country of their birth and their language, their aim has been the same. Their tenets—free from any taint of national and racial discrimination—taught men to love, respect and help each other. These lofty tenets have come down to us and are upheld by the whole world.

The Asian peoples should always be vigilant, exercise self-respect and regenerate themselves by self-reliance. They should also uphold the good virtue of harmony and the golden mean to promote human welfare. They should further recognise the difficult circumstances in which they find themselves and the immense responsibilities they are called upon to bear. Lastly, the people of Asia should take cognisance of the serious fact, that humanity is approaching the cross road of regeneration and self-annihilation. This crisis is caused by a total lack of understanding of the teachings of the ancient sages of Asia. To arrest this impending danger, Asian nations should not only co-operate and be brotherly with each other, but should also strive to promote goodwill among the nations of the world.

With the utmost sincerity I pray that the Asian Relations Conference sponsored by persons of great heart will, by fostering kindness, friendliness, and goodwill, bear the fruit of mutual affection, respect, confidence and co-operation, thus fulfilling the aim of the ancient sages in saving humanity and the world. In this way only can mutual hatred and slaughter be made to disappear from among mankind.

With regard to the problems before the Conference, judged from past events and examined in the light of the teachings of the ancient sages, they can be easily solved by goodwill. Conflicts are always

caused by mutual hatred. Being no specialist I have very little to add beyond this.

The fact that this Asian Relations Conference is sponsored by India and takes place in India, will, I believe, afford the honourable delegates attending it, ample opportunity to discover that the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi are essentially the same as those of our ancient sages. If followed, they are adequate in the work of bringing about the well being of mankind and of laying the foundation of world peace.

Although I am unable to attend the Conference, may I assure you that my thoughts are with you. I wish you all good health and every success for the Conference."

SPEECHES BY LEADERS OF DELEGATIONS

Speeches from leaders of delegations were then resumed and the opening speech of the day came from Mr. Kupradze of Georgia. He said :

On behalf of the Academy of Science of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic I wish to convey most friendly greetings to the Asian Relations Conference and its honoured organisers, and best wishes for its fruitful and successful work.

The discussion at this Conference of problems of the national life and culture of Asian peoples, the establishment of personal contact among the representatives of culture and science of various Asian countries, and the maintaining of this contact and mutual understanding in future, will play a significant part in the solving of democratic problems which face the people of Asia in their efforts to build their national life.

I bring with me fraternal greetings to this Conference from far-away Georgia which follows with keen interest and deep sympathy the life of the peoples of Asia and welcomes their democratic achievements.

May I express the hope that the foundation of closer friendly relations and better mutual understanding among the peoples of Asia laid at this Conference will be further strengthened and the Asian peoples will march forward with confidence to a better future.

Conveying the greetings of Indonesia to the Conference, Dr. Abu Hanifah, leader of the Indonesian delegation said :

On behalf of the Indonesian delegation, which represents the 70 million people, nation and state of Indonesia at the Conference, I should like to convey our thanks to the organisers of this Conference for their invitation to us in Indonesia to attend it. We are also grateful to all those who made it possible for us to arrive in New Delhi, thousands of miles away from our country.

Our presence here is significant, not only because we have the fullest opportunity to introduce our people and ourselves to our friends from other Asian countries, but because it is the first Asian conference in which Indonesians can participate unaccompanied by alien advisers. Our presence here is for us a significant symbol of the present stage of our national struggle. Being a young and independent nation we greatly appreciate this day as the symbol of the reality that the Indonesian people cannot easily be kept in an isolated position as before.

Since 17 August 1945 when the independence of our people and our state was proclaimed we have pledged to do and give anything in order to achieve our aims, which are the recognition by other peoples and states of our independence and our participation in mutual discussions with them for solving questions of common interest. The Indonesian people are always, decisively and consistently working for the promotion of world peace and prosperity. But we are convinced that only an independent Indonesia can fulfil this task.

For centuries Indonesia has been visited by various kinds of guests. Some came with good intentions, like the Indians, while others entered our country with deception and force, like the Dutch imperialists. The last, uninvited and most unwelcome visitors were the Japanese fascists who destroyed a big part of our culture and carried away valuables and riches. During these foreign dominations it was only the Dutch and the Japanese respectively who drew advantage from their arrival in Indonesia. Neither the world at large nor the people of Indonesia could enjoy any blessings from their presence. Monopolist imperialism drew the riches of the country to itself. When in the Second World War Asia was



Pandit Nehru (second from right) with Dr. Sutan Shariat, (second from left) former Prime Minister of Indonesia and Haji A. Salim (extreme right) Vice-Minister of Foreign

also involved, and the Japanese moved into Indonesia, without any resistance or agreement whatsoever the Dutch delivered the whole of the country, inclusive of everything in it, to the Japanese. But when the Japanese surrendered, it all came back, after centuries, to the Indonesian people. This just inheritance we want to use for freeing Indonesians and the world from want and fear.

We Indonesians are a peace-loving people. We do love living in peace with other nations who respect our right to be free and independent. And to build up our independent state we desire lasting peace and friendship especially with the countries surrounding us. With the Dutch too, we want peace, if only we are recognised as an independent state. One of our unchanging aims is everlasting world peace, in which the brotherhood of nations is a reality and not a thing existing only in speeches or writings. Mutual trust and goodwill should be more really practised; differences should not be sharpened. On the contrary common bonds should be brought closer as a base for the realisation of a just and lasting peace. In our constitution it is said that our state is founded on God's justice and greatness, and thus it is clear that Indonesia has put away all egoism in the running of the state.

Once more on behalf of the whole Indonesian delegation, consisting of member-delegates of all the big parties and other mass organisations who will follow here a national policy, setting aside their party differences, I want to thank you. We hope this Conference will be a great success with all our wholehearted and mutual co-operation. We hope that all the decisions taken jointly will give the fullest impetus to the struggle of our peoples for political and economic independence.

Finally, on behalf of the Indonesian people I convey to all of you our greetings and feelings of real brotherhood.

At the close of Dr. Abu Hanifah's speech, the President asked him to read part of the message which Dr. Sutan Shariar, Prime Minister of Indonesia, had sent to the Conference. The message which was then read said :

"The Indonesian Republic and the people of Indonesia accord warm support to the aims and objects underlying the organisation

of this Conference. We trust that it will have a far-reaching influence in bringing together the Governments and the people of the Asian countries. You have chosen the right time for holding this Conference, for all of these countries have suffered grievously during the war and are now faced with problems of great magnitude. The task of reconstruction is an urgent one and we have no doubt that the opportunity provided to all Asian countries to exchange their views on these problems will be extremely useful.

I conclude with warm greetings to you (Mrs. Naidu) and Pandit Jawaharlal and trust that the Conference will fulfil your hope of promoting international understanding and co-operation between the Asian countries."

Next to speak was Dr. G. H. Sadighi, head of the Iranian delegation. Dr. Sadighi said :

For the first time in the history of the Asian peoples, an Asian Conference has been inaugurated in this great and historic city of Delhi. On behalf of the Tehran University, I welcome the opportunity which has been afforded to me to express my sentiments of affection and gratitude to all the brother delegates from the different parts of Asia.

If we were to compare Asia with the human body, Delhi would undoubtedly be the heart, in which all the noble sentiments and affectionate feelings have made a home. In fact Delhi has rightly been chosen as venue of this meeting because not only is it the geographical centre of the great continent of Asia but it is also the junction of the two great civilisations of the east and west of Asia. Delhi, the heart of Asia, has played its part well and now it falls upon us, who are the limbs and parts of this great and ancient structure, to do our duty, firstly in respect of our respective mother countries and secondly for the whole of Asia which is our common home.

In drawing an analogy between the great land of Asia and the human body, I have borrowed the idea from the immortal verse of the great Persian poet, Saadi, who said :

All human beings are like the limbs of one great human body because the entire humanity has been created from the same substance. If one limb is impaired by the

vicissitudes of life, all the rest of the limbs become restless...

The age through which we are passing and the modern transport, scientific and other technical facilities which are at our disposal warrant that we should come in close contact with one another, and indeed I feel that it is, therefore, imperative that all the Asian nations should at the present time establish such proximity to one another as if they were taking shelter under one great umbrella whose arms are supported by pillars of wisdom, knowledge and mutual understanding. Not only should these nations tide over their hour of misery by seeking remedies from one another, but they should also be good friends for all time to come since they are partners in one another's happiness and prosperity. The example of some of the rising nations which have benefited by such contacts is before us. We, who are reputed to have laid the foundations of human civilisation and advancement, are endeavouring to revive the time-honoured ancient traditions so that all of us may reap the golden harvest. It is fortunate that the end of the Second World War has put an end to many of the common misunderstandings. My belief is that the world will now march on the highway to peace and mutual understanding and faith among one another so that a new world order based on this noble principle may soon evolve.

Time has come when the peoples of Asia should awake from their long hours of slumber without distinction of nationality, caste, creed, race or religion : should harmonise themselves in such a way that every man, woman and child, big or small, should become the standard-bearer of knowledge and wisdom, and should so act as to secure prosperity for themselves as well as for posterity. The time has come when the peoples of Asia, who in the past and on the strength of their wisdom and intellectual superiority adorned the book of knowledge of the world by their valuable contributions, should now join hands to add to the pages of this great book. The time has come when the peoples of Asia in collaboration with other nations of the world should put in their heart and soul to work for the welfare of mankind. There is no better contribution to the cause of humanity than a common ideal throughout the world. There is ample evidence to show how the peoples of Asia in the past, in the remotest corners of the world, on the banks of the rivers, on

the seashores and at the foot of the mountains, struggled hard to lay the foundation of human civilisation. It is now up to these peoples, who live in an age which has made stupendous progress in the realm of science and industry, to gird up their loins and create the cherished new era befitting the legacy they have inherited.

The peoples of Asia are confronted with five problems for the consideration of which this Conference is meeting. But we cannot be successful unless we are free and also our social, cultural, economic and women's movements make steady progress. These problems have already focussed our attention and we should thank the Indian Council of World Affairs which is considering them in great detail.

In this meeting I sincerely congratulate my Asian brothers and sisters and pray to God that this meeting will be the precursor of mutual understanding among all the Asian peoples. We Iranians, who are proud of our ancient Asian civilisation and culture, under the shadow of this solemn principle, hope to fully co-operate with our brothers to serve one another in promoting knowledge and culture in the world. The policy of give and take in the field of knowledge and culture is the best and noblest form of commerce.

Mr. Sharipov from Kazakhstan followed. He said :

On behalf of the Kazakh scientists and the freedom-loving Kazakh people I cordially greet the delegates to the present Conference of the Asian peoples and the many millions of Indian people as well.

I also greet Mr. Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the organisers of this Conference, who have done such a great job to gather all of us here. The scientists of our Republic are anxious to have close cultural and scientific relations with Indian scientists and with the scientists of other Asian countries. We are sure that this hope will be realised in practice. The great October revolution has brought to the Kazakh people, as well as to all the formerly oppressed peoples of Czarist Russia, real liberation from colonial and national yoke. It has made them a free nation enjoying all the human rights. The Kazakh people joined in the new life, became masters of their own fortune and came out into a broad way of national regeneration and economic and cultural prosperity. In the past Kazakhstan had no industry of its own. Czarism did everything possible to prevent

the development of the productive resources. The Soviet system has provided the opportunity for the creation of big industrial centres. Soviet power has equipped agriculture with the most advanced technique in the world. One of the important things that bears witness to the growth of the cultural level of the population is its literacy. Kazakhstan is entirely literate. Before the Revolution Kazakhstan had not a single institute or university; now the Republic has 23 institutes and hundreds of colleges. Before the great October Revolution Kazakhstan had neither scientific institutions nor scientists. Now it has its own Academy of Sciences with 26 affiliated institutes and 1,200 scientists. All this is the result of the free and unhampered development of our Republic. The Kazakh people are sure that in brotherly co-operation with other peoples of the Soviet Union, and with the establishment of friendly co-operation and cultural and economic relations with peace-loving countries—and especially with the neighbouring peoples of Asia—they will be able to achieve even greater prosperity.

At this stage the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, had to leave the meeting and she called upon 'an extremely illustrious gentleman', Sir S. Radhakrishnan (delegate for India), to take the chair, which he did. The Chairman then called upon Dr. Burhanuddin of Malaya to speak. Dr. Burhanuddin said :

On behalf of the delegates from Malaya representing various organisations and peoples of Malaya I bring you greetings.

Malaya is a country comprising a diversity of races and religions but notwithstanding this all races live there in perfect concord and harmony. Asia is one and Malaya is a link in the chain of Asia. Although this was so there was no opportunity for Asians to get together and this unique Conference which is born of vision is a step in the right direction to bring this about. The various Asian countries represented by the delegates who have met here today are like so many rivers converging themselves into one mighty ocean—India.

Our presence here today is an expression of the will of the Asian peoples to unite and find possible ways and means to solve their common problems. To foster friendship and cultural relationship among Asian races was a desideratum of all Asian races. But

owing to the domestic conditions prevailing in each of their respective countries Asian solidarity was not possible, and it was only for a great Asian country like India to give a lead towards its achievement.

This Conference also marks the first step towards better international understanding and amity.

Next to speak was Major General Bijaya Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana from Nepal. He said :

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I consider it a most happy privilege to address a few words to this illustrious gathering on behalf of my Government and my people. It is indeed a unique occasion when for the first time in history, the representatives of the many races and peoples of Asia, the home of more than half of the entire population of the world, should have gathered together on a common platform to discuss common problems and to exchange information and views. This will surely lead to an increase in friendship and mutual understanding among Asian countries, and will be a definite contribution to the establishment of peace in the world. Two world wars in the short space of a quarter of a century have almost shattered the fabrics of civilisation, and the world cannot bear a repetition of such stupendous catastrophes. Peace has returned, but the effects of the war are still very much with us. Asia, as we find it today, is unhappily not free from many peculiar problems, some of which are due to historic causes, while others are the direct consequence of the war just ended. If, as a result of this Conference, those problems and difficulties, or at least a major part of them, could be resolved, then the example and influence of the Conference might extend beyond the boundaries of Asia and might become a powerful force for the establishment and spread of enduring peace and goodwill throughout the world. At this solemn hour I feel sure that men of goodwill, in whatever part of the world they may live, will join with us in invoking the blessings and guidance of Benign Providence on the deliberation of this Conference so that it may lead to the welfare and happiness of the Asian peoples and of humanity, in a spirit of common brotherhood of all mankind.

Mine is a tiny mountainous country nestling in the Himalayas, and inhabited by a people short in stature but stout of heart, and ever zealous to maintain her independence. We live a simple life

on the lap of nature in our hills of home. Even so we have our own problems which we are trying to face with such limited resources in men and material as we possess; and I am confident that our experience in the Conference, and the knowledge that we shall acquire there of the problems facing our neighbours, and of the ways in which they are sought to be met, will be of the most material assistance to us as well as to our brothers and colleagues in solving our mutual and common problems.

The ties between Nepal and India have been in existence, in cordiality and friendship, throughout history. Those ties are indissoluble and I hope time will but make them stronger and closer. With our neighbours in the north, too, our relations have ever been most cordial. Our presence here will, I hope, lead to a strengthening of our good relations with old friends, and to the establishment of goodwill and contacts with other countries to whom we extend the hand of friendship.

Personally I feel it to be a great honour that I have been granted the privilege of leading our delegation to the first international gathering of Asian peoples, and to the first such gathering in which my country has taken a part.

Permit me, Sir, to add to my very sincere tribute to our hosts. Where else could the Conference more fittingly have taken place than in India—this great and ancient land which, after long centuries of effacement, is at last stirring to take its rightful place in the comity of nations. At the very threshold of her re-emergence as a free nation, India has demonstrated to Asia, and to the world, her burning desire for peace and understanding among all by the calling of this Conference. This, I need not remind my learned audience, is in keeping with the teachings of all our sages and great men in the past, and with the policy of the great Indian rulers from Asoka of glorious memory to Akbar the Great.

I feel my words will be too feeble to give expression to our high regard for the architect of this Conference, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His has been the real inspiration in promoting the idea of the Conference and he has earned the gratitude of the whole of Asia for his vision and statesmanship in bringing us together at this most opportune moment. Asia, this mother of continents, this place of origin of all the great faiths which rule the heart of man, is in

the melting pot, and her future is being unfolded before the eyes of the world. And Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru possesses those qualities of sagacity, sincerity and strength, which will be invaluable in the counsels of Asia and of the world.

Whatever I may say in praise of our President, the nightingale of India, the mellifluous Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, will be too little adequately to express what we feel and what she has accomplished. None of us who heard her moving address last evening can ever forget her appeal for unity, goodwill and understanding among all Asian peoples. I am sure I voice the feelings of all when I express our heartfelt gratitude for her untiring exertions in this most noble cause. She has been so hospitable to us, and has anticipated our wants so well, that we give her our respect and affection as to a mother or, as she likes to call herself, a grandmother.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to the Indian Council of World Affairs who have sponsored this Conference. All the kindness and friendliness with which we have been received and made to feel at home will for ever make Delhi memorable to us—this historic city to whose list of stirring events of bygone days this Conference is the latest and most notable addition.

Sir, I have now done. It only remains for me to thank you and this distinguished assembly for the most kind and patient hearing with which I have been honoured.

Prof. Hugo Bergman of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and leader of the Jewish delegation from Palestine said :

It is a great privilege to me to convey to this illustrious gathering the greetings of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, of the Jewish Women's Rights Society in Palestine and of the National Council of the Jews in Palestine, the Vaad leumi, who acted as the convenor of our delegation. Those are greetings of the representatives of an old religion and an old Asian people which was driven from its Asian motherland 1,800 years ago by the force of the Roman sword, but has never ceased to be linked in thought and daily prayer with this holy land which is at the same time a holy land to Christianity and Islam. Again and again through all these centuries our people have tried to resettle in Palestine, and now, through the new means of communication and

technology we succeeded in settling down in our old-new homeland. We are happy and proud to take part as an old Asian people at this Conference and we strive to be a loyal member of this great family of nations.

The Hebrew University sends its delegates to you, first of all to learn from you, to learn your problems and their solutions and to transplant this knowledge which we shall acquire here to our country on the Mediterranean Sea. The Asian system of multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural political organisation has stood the test of time. I was told by an Indian scholar whom I met here that mutual tolerance of religions and races is so self-understood and so obvious with you that your languages do not even know a word for 'tolerance'. For 'tolerance' is something negative, something given grudgingly. Tolerance is not enough. We have to learn to live together in a positive way and to co-operate in mutual benevolence and reciprocal help.

This lesson Europe was unable to teach us. We do not want to be ungrateful to Europe. We have learned very important lessons there. We learned to appreciate logical reasoning, methodical thinking. We have learned—what was always in our blood—that every individual soul whoever he may be, has an eternal value and has to be respected in its individual freedom. We have learned in Europe and transplanted to Palestine the teaching and way of life of modern socialism.

But one thing we could not learn in Europe: the mutual co-operation of groups of men belonging to different races and creeds. We have been everywhere a persecuted minority; and during the last war six millions of our brethren, the third part of our people—and the best part—babies, children, women and men, have been ruthlessly murdered in the gas chambers. This last lesson of Europe to us we shall never forget.

It is our hope that Palestine, notwithstanding present difficulties, will not go the European way of 'solving' so to speak, problems by dispossessing populations, but by a common effort to use the results of science and research to make room for more people. And it will mean more good neighbours, more co-operation, more reciprocal help.

We have come to learn, not to teach. But if we may contribute actively to the aims of this Conference, it shall be on the lines just mentioned. Because in Palestine it was and is our first aim to enlarge the economic capacity of our small country, we have used to the utmost of our knowledge scientific methods to solve problems of settlement, to transform barren deserts into fertile soil and to work out such forms of co-operative and collective colonisation which would make it possible to intensify to the limit, the fertility of our land and at the same time our health and social services. In this respect we may say in all modesty that by transforming our settlements into one comprehensive scientific laboratory we have had a certain success and the experts in our delegation will be glad to offer their humble services to our common cause in the same way as our scientific research and our health service in Palestine desire to serve not only our community but the whole country and in a certain measure the Middle East.

I would also like as a member of the Hebrew University staff to mention our efforts to revive our old Hebrew language, the language of the Bible, and to make it suit modern purposes. It is one of the principal aims of the Hebrew University to achieve this. We were again and again told by the so called 'practical' men that we are Don Quixotes, that it would be far easier and far more practical to introduce English as a language of instruction. We resisted the temptation, great as it was, because we thought that on going back to our Asian country this return would be senseless and in vain if we would bring with us a European language. This does not mean that we exclude English as the language of communication with the outer world. But first and foremost we want to be faithful to the language of our fathers. The language of the psalms and prophets became flexible and elastic to our late-born generation. Today we have translated into Hebrew the Koran, Plato, Aristotle and Kant, Hume and Russell, the works of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. We have not yet translated the holy books of the East, but this day, I hope, will come soon. Also in this respect of the development of an old-new national language we may have to offer some experience to this Conference.

May God—God who is one to all his children—bless our Conference and its aims. We hope and pray that this Conference will open a new chapter in human history.

Mr. Phya Anuman Rachathon greeted the Conference on behalf of Siam. He said :

In the name of the freedom-loving Siamese people, I have much pleasure on this historic occasion in offering my heartiest congratulations to the people of India who are on the very threshold of freedom and complete independence ; and I cannot refrain from congratulating all the members of the Indian Council of World Affairs, to whose untiring and unstinted effort this premier Asian Relations Conference owes its conception. It is quite evident to all who have been to Siam, no matter whether on a brief visit or for a long period of residence, that Indian and Siamese cultures, in spite of slight discrepancies are almost identical, so much so that, when viewed from the context of fundamentals, a unity of purpose becomes at once apparent to all observant eyes. As the great Indian poet-mystic Rabindranath Tagore most aptly observed, 'Siam has preserved what India lost'.

Today, while we meet at the Conference of Asian cultures on the soil of India that was once the birthplace of all that was great and noble for humanity, the first problem that should seize the imagination of all Asians is how we should preserve our cultures. To preserve them every Asian country should give the fullest manifestation to her own culture and at the same time maintain the cohesion of Asian culture as a whole which is the common heritage of all of us. Then Asia will really be one and indivisible with all physical diversities blending into oneness.

Friends, it is a historical necessity to meet each other and talk on common problems so that the submerged humanity of Asia gets once more life, light and vigour to march towards progress. If we achieve even a fraction of what we cherish in our hearts, the future generations of Asia will bless all of us who are shaping their future today. Hence a stout heart and an open mind are what are needed today. The Siamese people are deeply interested and enthusiastic in matters cultural and spiritual. It is my fervent hope, and I am sure it is the hope of us one and all, that all Asian countries will contribute to each other's culture so as to enable us to understand each other better and help us achieve our common ideals. Once more I beg to congratulate all of you who are instruments in the getting up of this august assembly ; and once more I pledge my

country's cordial co-operation in this task which lies ahead of all of us and assure all the delegates and observers assembled in this historic place that we are so happy in the midst of so many sisters and brothers of Asia.

May our combined Asian efforts be crowned with success.

Next to speak was Madam Tairova from Tadjikistan. Madam Tairova said :

On behalf of the delegation of the Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic, allow me to convey warm greetings to the participants and organisers of this Conference. The Tadjik people through us send their sincere greetings and best wishes to the people of India and to all the Asian peoples represented here.

The Tadjik people have obtained their national statehood only under Soviet power. In a short space of time our Republic with the fraternal aid of other peoples of the Soviet Union, particularly of the Russian people, has achieved tremendous success in all spheres of life.

The sons and daughters of Soviet Tadjikistan shoulder to shoulder with other peoples of the Soviet Union heroically defended the independence of our motherland from the Nazi invaders. They, the Tadjiks did so because they were fully aware that in defending Stalingrad, Moscow, the North Caucasus, they defended Tadjikistan as well from the Hitlerite hordes who would bring again colonial oppression and slavery to the freedom-loving Tadjik people.

I cannot help reminding you of the tragic fate of women in my country Tadjikistan before the establishment of Soviet power. In her eloquent address last night Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that India always honoured her women. That was not the case in the pre-Revolution Tadjikistan. Political, economic and domestic slavery and ignorance were the lot of our women before the Revolution. But for the Soviet system, I would not be standing here today on this dais, a free Tadjik woman representing her free country. But for the Soviet system, I would not be what I am now, an engineer, constructor and research worker. Now Tadjik women as well as all women of the Soviet Union have ample opportunities for free creative labour in all walks of life. I bring with

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Pandit Nehru greeting a leader of the Tibetan delegation. Mrs. Naidu
is on the left

me greetings to this Conference from women of the Soviet East and from all women of the Soviet Union who feel profound sympathy towards progressive movements of the peoples of Asia and wish these peoples freedom and prosperity.

The Tadjik people together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union are striving for peaceful creative labour and for raising their economy and culture to a still higher level. The cultural intercourse and closer cultural contact of the Asian peoples is of great significance to the cause of the further development and flowering of culture and science in our countries. With all my heart I wish this Conference successful and fruitful work.

At this stage Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru took the Chair from Sir S. Radhakrishnan and called upon the leader of the Tibetan delegation, Mr. Sampho Theiji to speak. Mr. Theiji said :

Our Tibetan Government received an invitation to join in the Asian Relations Conference. We are a country which administers its subjects on the basis of religious aspirations and India being the motherland of Buddhism, we Buddhists and especially Tibet had friendly relations with India from ancient times. Therefore our Government have sent us here to attend this great Conference to maintain our peaceful relations based on religion.

In a similar way we are very glad to meet representatives from all the Asian countries in this Conference and we wish to express our sincere gratitude to the great Indian leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and to all the distinguished representatives who have gathered in this Conference. As for the future, all the Asian countries will feel as brothers towards each other, a feeling based on spiritual relationship, so that in this way we might hope that there will be everlasting peace and unity in Asia.

The observer for Turkey, Mr. H. Kocaman, then greeted the Conference in a brief speech. He said :

I am extremely happy being in Delhi to attend the Asian Relations Conference as an Observer for my country. On this occasion I cordially greet all delegates and observers coming from various countries of Asia and thank you for the warmest hospitality we have met with here. I also take this opportunity to express to India as well as to all Asian peoples and countries of Asia and the

world my best and most sincere wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

Mr. Sarymsacov from Uzbekistan was next called to speak. He said :

The peoples of Uzbekistan and India are among the most ancient peoples of the world. History is full of examples which prove the existence of a close connection between these two peoples in the field of economy and culture. For many centuries the middle Asia and Uzbekistan as one of its parts served as a connecting link between India on the one side and Greece, Rome, China and other countries on the other. The names of such famous Uzbeks as Al Biruni, Bedilyo, Mosrova, Dehleva, Zenbinisky and others are connected with the history of India. With their help and with the help of Navo the Uzbek people expressed their sympathy towards the Indian people and always respected them and their culture. For many centuries the Uzbeks knew neither real freedom nor real happiness, were deprived of all human rights, and were oppressed. The long awaited sun of the great October Revolution rose in 1917 and dissipated the darkness covering millions of peoples. The Revolution embraced the Uzbek people as well. Having accomplished the Revolution the Uzbeks with the help of the Russian people gained their political and economic liberty. During the short period of Soviet power Soviet Uzbekistan has great achievements to its credit in all the spheres of national economy and culture.

Allow me on behalf of the Uzbek people to give our kind regards to the present Conference and to express the hope that it will bring success to the cause of drawing the people of Asia together. I especially want to stress our respect to the initiator of this Conference, Pandit Nehru. As a token of this I should like to hand him this small present.

[Saying this Mr. Sarymsacov presented Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with an Uzbek robe and cap, which he wore amidst cheers.]

The Chairman then called upon the delegate for Viet Nam, Mr. Mai The Chau to speak.³ Mr. Chau said :

On the occasion of this historic gathering of the delegates from all the Asian countries, I beg to express on behalf of the Viet Nam

3. The leader of the Viet Nam delegation arrived at a later stage of the Conference.

people and in the name of the Viet Nam delegation our best wishes for the success of the Conference. I hope that the result of the Conference will contribute to lasting peace, indivisible and constructive freedom and democracy, and will lay the foundation of a fraternal and fruitful co-operation among the Asian peoples for the general happiness of mankind.

I beg to express my heartfelt thanks to the Indian Council of World Affairs which has arranged this friendly meeting to enable the peoples in the East to strengthen their solidarity and brotherhood.

I regret that despite the non-political character of the Conference, Indo-China cannot be fully and freely represented owing to political difficulties.

I avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate our warmest thanks to the great Indian people and the peoples and leaders of other Asian countries for their sympathy and moral support to the Viet Nam people in their struggle for freedom.

I am not a good speaker and at the moment when the very existence of my country is threatened it is not good words which can save my country but action. We are gathering here not just by curiosity of knowing one another, because if we know one another without being able to help one another this mutual knowledge will not prevent us from perishing one after the other under the pressure of the enemy of justice and liberty. We have used enough words about Asian unity. Now let us act.

The Chairman next called Mr. Taquiddeen El Solh, observer for the Arab League, to address the Conference. Mr. El Solh said:

I have come to this Conference as an observer and not as a speaker. But the Chairman has asked me to say a few words. I represent the Arab League which is composed of seven states. These countries run between the East and the West and have always been known as the door to India. Most of the troubles we suffered from came to us because of this position, and we now share with you your freedom, as your freedom is necessary for our freedom. Of the seven states that make the Arab League five are represented in the United Nations and we have always been deter-

mined to place these states at the service of right and against oppression and colonisation. In the heart of these countries is Palestine. It is more oppressed than any other country. The nation is Hebrew-Semitic like any one of us and it has been oppressed everywhere except in our country. But it is trying to take advantage as a special minority under the defence of British bayonets. We object to that and we hope that you will stand by the side of right with us.

With the speech of the Arab League observer the representatives of foreign delegations had all addressed the Conference except leaders from Korea, Mongolia, the Philippines, Turkmenistan and Kirghizia whose delegations were still on their way.

The Chairman, Pandit Nehru, then said :

It was my intention to finish up these two days' proceedings by calling upon a representative from India also to speak. It is true that yesterday you had several representatives of India speaking in various capacities. Nevertheless, perhaps it would be fitting if at the end I call upon one such representative to speak. I am going to request presently Sir S. Radhakrishnan to speak. Before I do this, I am going to ask Miss Karima El-Said to say a few words because I understand that, in my absence, certain references were made to Palestine and she feels that, on behalf of the women of Egypt she should say something. As you know, we have tried to avoid, for obvious reasons, raising and discussing controversial issues at this Conference. It is well known to all of you what the opinion in Asia is about most of these controversial issues. There is no doubt about it. Nevertheless, if this Conference enters into these questions, we will get involved in them. But some reference was made and Miss Karima El-Said desires to say something in regard to that reference. I think it is only right that she should have a chance.

Miss Karima El-Said (delegate for Egypt): Since the representative of the Hebrew University raised the question of Palestine which is a controversial issue I would like to place before you the views of the Arab women. We strongly object to any settlement in Palestine except for the Arabs. The gentleman himself said that the Jews have been in Europe for the last eighteen centuries. I tell you that the Arabs have been in Palestine for the last fourteen

centuries. The Americans have been in America for less than five centuries and still they consider that America is their home. We have had no trouble with the Jews at all. They have been welcome; they have been our friends; they have settled very happily among us; but we do not want British rule to be replaced by that of European Zionists. We object to them as foreigners, as Europeans; not because they are Jews. The Arabs must live in Palestine. Palestine cannot belong any more to its original inhabitants.

The Chairman next called upon Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (delegate for India) to speak. Sir Sarvepalli said :

Some of you may feel that India is over-represented. You had Mrs. Naidu, you had Pandit Nehru, you had Sir Shri Ram. Well, Pandit Nehru today has ceased to be an Indian. He has become a citizen of a Soviet Asian Republic, in his princely robes, a prince among men, not merely among Asians or Indians. I never expected that I would be called upon to speak this evening. All the same I have been requested to say a few words on behalf of India. India from the beginning has felt that the world is not made up of one nation or one culture. We have recognised that the world, if it is to be made one, must be made one by differentiation and through differentiation. It is multi-national as well as multi-cultural. That has been the characteristic tendency of the Indian spirit. In Europe when the Greeks were pre-eminent, they thought that all non-Greeks were barbarians and fit to be treated as slaves only. When the great philosopher, Hegel, construed the process of history he said, 'Dark Africa represents inertia. Asia, coloured Asia, represents riotous activity. And Europe tries to balance harmony between the inertia of Africa and the riotous activity of Asia.' Philosophers can construe history in very imaginative ways. I can construe it by saying that, when God made humanity, He over-baked some, underbaked others, and hit on the golden mean when he produced the Asians—neither, what I may call, burnt sacrifices nor blood offerings, but human beings who are midway between the two. Similarly, you find a recent writer of the last century saying that nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin. That is Sir Henry Maine. Also recently you found Churchill and Smuts telling us that Europe is the heart of the world. We have no intention of denying the magnificent achievements of Europe in science and politics, but when we pass such general judgments

we have to bear in mind the long millennia of the history of the world. The pyramids of Egypt commemorate the past and challenge the future.

When you look at the long history of the world you cannot overlook the contributions of Egypt, the contributions of Babylon and Assyria, the delicate humanism of China, the human and artistic tendencies of Persia, the mystic ideals of India, and the stern monotheism of Arabia and Palestine. All of them have made remarkable contributions to the progress of the world. But latterly, however, our fortunes have been rather backward. We have fallen on evil days and we did not forge ahead as the other countries took up science and political order and applied them to the practical problems of life. There it is that we lagged behind. We are not forgetful of the great debt that the Asian nations owe to Europe. Europe has served as a gad-fly to stir them into activity. It has been a process of rejuvenation of Asia and this we owe to our contact with the Western world and we cannot forget it. When once we are awakened, when once we are moving forward, it is the duty of the Western people to give us a fresh chance to enable us to make our contributions to world peace and prosperity. The vitality of Europe, her very restlessness, her very ebullience have made Europe the storm centre and made the rest of the world more or less the cockpit of strife among the European nations. If the chance is given to the Asian people, if they are enabled to acquire freedom and to make their effective contribution, I have no doubt that our contributions will be in a different direction. It will not be merely for the use of science for destructive purposes, but it will be for the use of science for the healing of nations and for the building up of what one may call, a single world. The British Government have set an example to the other smaller imperialisms of France and Holland. These must follow the example. They must liberate the peoples who are held in subjection. I do hope that a liberated India will exert her greatest influence on behalf of the subjected and suppressed peoples of Asia and her influence in the counsels of the world will be used for the purpose of enabling them to achieve their freedom. It has been said from this platform a number of times that the great contributions of this land are in the spiritual direction. Let me tell you that there is no such thing as a spirit working in a vacuum and it is impossible for us to have any kind of spiritual life or development where our bodily health

is so weak and when society is so unhealthy. Unless you build up a great social world, where all ordinary men and women irrespective of their status and economic position are given the fundamental rights which are open to all human beings, it will be impossible for us to have any kind of spiritual development.

But from the beginning of history the contribution of this country has been one of building up the peace. The Indus Valley civilisation takes us to an age when Babylon, Assyria and Egypt were also young. If you turn to their inscriptions you will find that the very gods have been called upon to make peace between the rival peoples. You will find in the Zoroastrian religion a good deal in common with our own ancient themes, and even when Arabia rejuvenated Europe, stirred her energy and started with what you may call a period of scientific enlightenment, it was due to the so many contributions which this country made that Arabia produced that intellectual ferment in Europe. Those great Indian teachers who went from here and the pilgrims who came from China, who spurned all pleasures, who braved the perils of seas and mountains—thousands of them came but only a few survived to tell an amazing story. Their daring, courage, patience and travail would have given them far healthier and pleasanter hours of leisure and greater recognition than came their way. But they did not care for those pleasures of the world; they wanted to bind together the peoples in a cultural and spiritual fellowship. That again will be the contribution of this great land. All our great leaders, Gandhi, Tagore, Nehru, are first and foremost humanists and patriotism they demand because the contributions of humanism will not be possible with slave countries. The world has to be made free, and unless the world is made free there cannot be one single world. Under the inspiration of such leaders and with the goodwill which has come to us from you all, there is no doubt that in Asia a new age will begin and the golden era return. Thank you.

In bringing the proceedings of the Opening Plenary Sessions to a close the Chairman, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, observed :

Our two days' public session now draws to a close. But of course this is only the beginning of the work of this Conference and the delegates and observers who have gathered here will continue to meet from day to day, sometimes in plenary session, more often in

their various group meetings and committees. The real work, I take it, will be done at these group meetings, where there will not be any formal resolutions probably, but where there will be heart to heart discussions and ideas thrown out, and then a collection of those ideas and thoughts. Finally, as hinted yesterday, I hope there will be some kind of organisation emerging from the labours of this Conference.

During these two days we have heard a large number of speeches by representatives from various countries. As a matter of fact there is hardly a country as far as I think, except one that has been prevented from coming to this Conference. One country, Japan, is not represented here—and that for reasons which are beyond Japanese control or ours. I think during these two days we have heard the voice of Asia from all these different delegates. There have been differing notes sometimes, but all along there has been a common note about it and I think all of us have felt that however far we might be separated from each other in point of distance or in other ways, there is an essential unity about this continent and about our endeavour. For most of us I think these two days have been an inspiration not merely in what was said but in the many things that lay behind the spoken word. So we have laid the firm foundation of our work and I hope that it will continue and out of it will grow the great tree of Asian unity for which we have met here today, and out of that again will grow something even greater—a world peace based on world freedom. We cannot separate the fate of one nation from that of another today. It acts and reacts on each other and if any person thinks that Asia is going to prosper in the future at the cost of Europe he is mistaken, because if Europe falls it will drag Asia too with it. Or if Asia remains fallen, undoubtedly it would drag Europe and other parts of the world with it. Any intelligent person can see that the problems of today can never be separated. You cannot have—it has long been said—a world part free, part slave. You cannot have a world part warring, part peaceful. You cannot separate these things into different compartments. You are going to have either war or peace in the world. You are going to have either freedom or lack of freedom in the world. Therefore, when we think of freedom and progress in Asia necessarily we think of it in terms of other peoples' freedom also, not as an encroachment on others. If you look at it from another point of view, the economic point of view, in future any nation or any

continent which thinks in terms of building up its own prosperity at the cost of exploiting others is not going to succeed. Undoubtedly, because of various special qualities and opportunities that they possessed, the people of Europe prospered. I do not criticise them or condemn them for that. They had the qualities for that and they succeeded. Nevertheless, their prosperity depended largely on the exploitation of various colonial and semi-colonial countries.

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Today we have arrived at a stage when no country in Europe or elsewhere dare to base its prosperity on exploiting any other country. Indeed there is no need for it, because science offers us for the first time the opportunity to make the world prosperous all over, only if we work out along the lines of science, if we solve our problems on the scientific basis. So, today there is this problem before some of the countries of Europe who have got used to certain national economies which are based on the exploitation of other countries. Unfortunately, not reading the lesson of history or understanding current affairs, they still tend here and there in Asia, Africa and elsewhere to try and retain that type of economy by which they had profited in the past. But even looking at it from the narrowest viewpoint of opportunism, that has now become an impossible undertaking for them. It will cost them much more than they might gain even if they succeeded. And they will not succeed in that. So the path of wisdom is obviously to give up that method of approach to these problems and think in terms of raising the general level of life in each and every nation—not to keep up the level of one at the cost another. On the whole it is recognised today that it will not be possible for political domination of one nation by another to continue. But it is not perhaps sufficiently realised that it should be equally undesirable for the economic domination of one nation by another to continue. We have been wrapped up in political problems and on the political aspect of the national problem. In all countries, more or less, we have talked bravely of independence and yet we know well enough that many a country that calls itself independent is in the clutches of various economic interests of other countries. Economic interdependence there is bound to be. No one can speak in terms of isolationism today. But the point is that this practice of economic exploitation of one country by another either directly, or what might be still more dangerous, indirectly cannot continue and if it does then inevitably it brings all manner of evils and conflicts in its train. You will not be able to end the conflicts of today unless you approach the

problem from an entirely different viewpoint. These two days and the next seven or eight days will no doubt bring all these problems much more before you and you will examine them. You will not suddenly find a golden way out because there is no golden way out of difficult problems of life, but it seems clear enough that we see roughly a path before us which we of Asia should tread upon. We shall go on that path, I hope, hand in hand and co-operating together, always keeping the other hand for other continents who wish to take it. As you know, it was my desire to avoid a controversy on any subject affecting the internal politics of the various countries of Asia in this Conference. Obviously, apart from Palestine, there are many other problems about which the representatives of two countries might differ or might come into conflict ideologically or otherwise. Even within a country there are problems enough. If we entered that question we would simply lose track of the real work before us here and lose ourselves in interminable arguments.

Palestine is a highly important issue. Palestine might be a small country on the map, but undoubtedly it has become a very vital issue. The people of India, as is well known, have during these last many years sympathised very greatly with the sufferings of the Jews in Europe and elsewhere. We have, whenever an opportunity came before us, raised our voice in their favour, or at any rate, expressed our hope that their suffering would end. At the same time it is also clear, and I do not say this in any controversial spirit, that the people of India, necessarily for various reasons into which I shall not go, have always said that Palestine is essentially an Arab country and no decision can be made without the consent of the Arabs. We had hoped and we still hope that if the third party withdraws from Palestine it might be easier for the other parties more intimately concerned to settle their own problems among themselves, however difficult they might be. Because, after all, that problem, like all other problems, must be settled and if people do not settle them reasonably, then they are settled unreasonably. Nature does not long accept an unsettled problem. Therefore I hope—and I say so with all respect to all parties concerned, our Arab friends and our Hebrew friends, that this question of Palestine itself will be settled in co-operation between them and not by any appeal to or reliance upon any outsider.

CHAPTER III

THE ROUND TABLE GROUPS AND GROUP PLENARY SESSIONS

GROUP A

TOPIC : I. NATIONAL MOVEMENTS FOR FREEDOM

THE Round Table Group A of the Conference discussed Topic I—National Movements for Freedom, in two sittings on 30 April 1947, forenoon and afternoon. The plenary session of the Group was held on 1 April 1947. The Chairman of the Round Table was Mr. Philip Hcalim (delegate, Malaya) ; Vice-Chairman, Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar (delegate, India) ; and Rapporteur, Mr. M. A. Raschid (delegate, Burma).

DISCUSSION

The Chairman pointed out at the outset that the Conference had met to discuss subjects in their cultural and social aspects, but in the case of a subject like national freedom movements it was not always possible to divorce the political aspect from the social and cultural. However, he desired members to be restrained in discussion.

An Indonesian delegate pointed out that a national freedom movement was essentially political, and an Indian delegate added that, therefore, the discussion on this particular subject should be on a different plane from the other subjects discussed by the Conference. Another Indian delegate said he saw no harm not only in allowing the political aspect of the question being discussed but even in bringing it out prominently, because the Conference passed

no resolutions. A Chinese delegate assured that there was no intention on the part of anyone present to refer to controversial internal affairs of countries and so he hoped they would be allowed to have full and frank discussion.

The Chairman concurred with the last speaker.

An Indonesian delegate said that national movements in Asia were born as a reaction against the ruling system. The causes for their birth were to be found in imperialism which gave rise to anti-imperialist forces that took the form of national and labour movements. All these forces had great influence upon one another. Thus the Chinese and Russian Revolutions and even Japan's victory over Czarist Russia had contributed to the Indonesian national movement. Another Indonesian delegate said that the new Republic of Indonesia was the result of a national democratic revolution and was working for the promotion of world peace and friendship. It was prepared to give full support to other movements in Asia. Mutual sympathies of the various Asian countries are well known and there were many ways other than the political to support each other's movements, for example in the economic sphere.

An Indian delegate drew the attention of the Group to the fact that it had met for a specific purpose of knowing each others' problems better. Most of the Asian countries represented at the Conference were either under foreign domination or were just freeing themselves from it. She therefore suggested discussion of existing problems and the ways of solving them. A Philippine delegate added that most of the Asian countries were under some form or other of imperialism and economic exploitation. Hence he thought that the basis of discussion should be to find ways and means of ending imperialism and economic exploitation.

The Chairman said that the object of the meeting was to devise ways and means by which the various countries could win the principle of self-determination. He also commended the proposal of the Philippine delegate and invited discussion on that basis.

A Ceylon observer emphasised the need for economic freedom in every country. It was necessary, he said, that every country must see that the ordinary man gets a fair deal. He explained the efforts of the Government of his country in this direction and

pleaded that the various countries should unite for mutual co-operation in this matter.

A Chinese delegate supported the views as expressed earlier by the delegate for India on the gathering and exchange of information on existing problems in various countries, and the degree of self-government they have so far succeeded in attaining. He invited the Indonesian delegate to give information on the extent to which the Jogjakarta agreement had satisfied his country, the prospects of a union with the Netherlands, and the desire of Indonesia to have independent diplomatic representation.

A delegate for Burma said that India had been a tool in the hands of British imperialism for subjugating countries around India. Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and possibly Indonesia had felt the pressure either of Indian troops or of Indian economy. He hoped that when India emerged as a free country she would not allow her army to be used for suppressing the freedom movement of any country. Burma needed the assistance of her neighbours for rebuilding her ruined economy. But she feared that in getting this assistance, European capitalism and exploitation may be replaced by 'brown exploitation.'

An Indian delegate explained that until the other day Indians had no control over the army. If their soldiers were sent to other countries it was at the behest of the foreign government and not at all in accord with the wishes of the Indian people. Even so pressure had been brought to bear upon the British Government to withdraw Indian troops from Indonesia and elsewhere. The pressure did work in course of time. The present Government of India decided to withdraw Indian troops from countries where they were present, and if any still remained there it was with the consent of the government of the concerned country.

A Chinese delegate, confining his remarks to Burma as it affected China, said that though China felt great sympathy for Burma's struggle, it should not be forgotten that in conducting national movements they should have regard for principles of justice and fairness to other Asian peoples residing in their territories. He mentioned that certain adverse measures were contemplated against the Chinese in Burma.

A Ceylon delegate referred to the fear of small countries like Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia etc., that they might be faced with aggression, not necessarily political but economic and demographic, by their big brothers like China and India. The last four years had witnessed considerable hatred of the Chinese, Indians and other foreigners in countries like Ceylon and Malaya. While it was true that India and China, as countries, were behind Ceylon in her freedom movement, the nationals of these countries residing in Ceylon did not want change because they were doing very well under the colonial government. India and China were of course not to blame for this. But he wanted these countries to understand the position.

A Chinese delegate observed that in Chinese history, anyway, there never was a period when the Government followed a policy of colonialism. Those that left China for neighbouring countries had naturalised there and become an integral part of the local community. The immigrant Chinese communities had no desire for a share in political power in any of the countries to which they had emigrated. The Burmese need have no apprehension of a small number of Chinese crowding them out. If at any time such danger existed the Chinese Government would devise ways and means of withdrawing the Chinese population from the country.

A Burmese delegate replying to the above remarks said that while he could give examples of the Chinese trying to share political power in Burma, he knew of no action taken by the Burmese against the Chinese. The Western imperialist countries, he added, are interested in creating differences among the various immigrant groups in these countries and thrive on such differences.

An Indonesian delegate mentioned the obstacles in the way of his country's freedom. The presence of foreign troops and navy, the poverty of the people, their illiteracy and cultural backwardness, the unorganised peasantry and labour, and the inadequacy of the social services—all were handicaps in the struggle for freedom. On behalf of the Indonesian delegation he expressed gratitude for the many declarations of sympathy they had received; but sympathy alone could not be effective. He hoped that something would emerge from this Conference which would be of concrete assistance to them. He also referred to the absence of press agencies in Asian countries. Countries fighting for freedom in

Asia had to depend for information about the freedom movements on British and American press agencies. The news service of these agencies could not sometimes be trusted and therefore he suggested that the Conference might propose the formation of an Asian press agency.

Another Indonesian delegate explained in detail the Dutch-Indonesian (Linggadjati) agreement. The legality of the Indonesian government had been recognised and the territorial sovereignty vested in the Republican Government. It was agreed to establish a United States of Indonesia before the end of 1948. The question of the defence of the Union was still under negotiation. There was an article in the agreement to say that troops would be in the hands of the Republic but the actual transfer from the Dutch to Indonesian hands was being worked out. In reply to a question from a Ceylon delegate, the delegate for Indonesia added that they recognised in the basic agreement the right of foreigners to own plantations in Indonesia.

The delegate for India observed that India had based her freedom movement on a much wider concept than nationalism. The freedom of India was meaningless without the freedom of oppressed peoples all over the world. Regarding the charge that India had helped to perpetuate slavery in other Asian countries she pointed out that owing to circumstances beyond India's control Indian troops had been used for putting down Indonesians. Now that India enjoyed a certain degree of power there would be no misunderstanding on that point. India's heart was not only with Indonesians in their struggle but behind all those who desired freedom. The United Nations Organisation from which she had just returned was over-represented with the West and the East suffered neglect. She believed this was not intentional but due to the prevailing circumstances. She therefore pleaded for internal unity in Asia when only the United Nations would represent not just the voice of a few powerful countries but of the whole world.

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The delegate for Indonesia, resuming his account of the new status of his country, said that, though in political, economic and cultural matters the Republic was sovereign and free, they had consented to collaborate with the Dutch in foreign affairs. This did not mean that they would take orders from the Dutch, but it

was only a co-ordination of policy between themselves and the Dutch. In defence, the responsibility was purely Indonesian. He called upon all delegates to accord recognition to the Indonesian Republic. That done, he believed they could devote their attention to the development of a strong and prosperous Indonesia. His suggestions for inter-Asian co-operation in the non-political sphere were: (i) establishment of an Inter-Asia Information Service: (ii) speeding up the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Asian countries; (iii) necessary measures to accelerate the full independence of Asian countries.

A delegate for Malaya gave an account of the political and constitutional status of his country. He stressed the fact that there were practically no elected representative bodies in Malaya. The present political set up of the Malayan Union was by no means conducive to the people thinking in terms of Malaya being one nation. The main opposition to the new constitutional proposals was from the Council of Joint Action. Owing to the heterogeneity of the Malayan population there were now two Councils of Action, but a united front was hoped for early. He suggested the formation of a neutrality bloc to refuse assistance of raw materials, arms, dockyards etc., in the event of a crisis. He was very earnest about this proposal, he said, because with no army, navy or air force this seemed the only way to ensure the effectiveness of Malayan independence. In reply to an enquiry from an Indian delegate as to what was being done to unite the three elements, the Chinese, Indians and Malays, the delegate from Malaya replied that the progressive elements among the three communities have decided to identify themselves as one; claiming only one and not dual citizenship. The latter meant taking advantage of the country they live in for its benefits and running away from it during times of danger. He wanted that China and India should categorically say that their nationals in Malaya should adopt Malayan nationality.

The Chairman who was a delegate for Malaya remarked that the previous speaker had explained Malaya's case fully.

A delegate for Viet Nam narrated the background of his country's present struggle for freedom—the events leading up to the formation of the Viet Nameese League under Dr. Ho Chi-minh, the fight with the French and the Japanese in the northern zone, the abdication of the Emperor of Annam and the proclamation of

Viet Nam as a republic. The new republic had been recognised by the French early in 1946. Another Viet Nameese delegate complained that sufficient help was not rendered to the country by the democratic countries when the French set up a puppet government in Cochin China. On the other hand arms and ammunition manufactured in these countries were being used against Indo-China. While he was grateful to all countries and especially to India for their sympathy, this was not sufficient help in their struggle for independence. He wanted the Indian delegates to approach their Government to accord recognition to the Government of Viet Nam. In addition he wanted them to use their influence to get the United Nations Organisation take up the question. He also wanted steps to be taken to stop French reinforcements.

The delegate for Indonesia supported the Viet Nam delegates' plea for recognition of their Government and their representation in the United Nations Organisation. He hoped that the freedom gained by the Viet Nameese people would not be allowed to be lost but preserved by all the Asian countries.

The Chairman then called upon Pandit Nehru, a delegate for India who was also the Member for External Affairs in the Indian Interim Government, to clarify the position regarding the points raised during the discussions about the use of Indian troops and arms in certain countries of southeast Asia.

Pandit Nehru said that it was a fact that Indian troops were used in Indonesia after the end of the last war, but the first step taken by his Government was to order the withdrawal of these forces immediately, though it took some three months to give effect fully to this order. By November 1946 all Indian troops had been completely withdrawn. Regarding the allegation that supplies of ammunition went from India to be used against Viet Nam, he denied any knowledge of such a happening. So far as general policy was concerned the Indian people were in sympathy with Viet Nam's struggle for freedom. The governments of Cambodia, Cochin China, and Laos, he said, should be left to be determined by the people living in those areas. In reply to the complaint that India's support to countries of southeast Asia was more moral than material, Pandit Nehru said that he did not see how the Indian Government could be expected—or for that matter, other Asian countries—to declare war on France. That was not the way to proceed, and by such precipitate action they were likely to lose

in the long run. Any wise government would try to limit the area of conflict. It would, however, bring sufficient pressure to bear but that could not obviously be done by governments in public meetings.

The delegate for China associated himself with the above views and said that the general opinion of the Conference as expressed in the sentiments of the various speakers was the following :

- (i) that it was against any continuation of foreign domination in any part of Asia ;
- (ii) the Asian countries will of course avoid any assistance for the continuation of such domination ;
- (iii) assistance should be given to national movements wherever possible ; and
- (iv) people belonging to one country and living in another should identify themselves with the latter.

The delegate for Viet Nam thanked Pandit Nehru for his statement. He acknowledged that the fact that Gurkha troops fought against them did not mean that the present Indian Government was against their freedom movement. He mentioned in this connection the kindness shown by the Chinese when they were in occupation. He expressed his thanks to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. The delegate for Indonesia expressed gratitude to the Indian Interim Government for withdrawing Indian troops from Indonesia and the active help so far rendered by it to the Indonesian Republic.

The observer for Ceylon gave an account of Ceylon's constitutional progress from the establishment of the Ceylon National Congress in 1919 to the report of the Soulbury Commission. He gave details of the new constitution which they had accepted and which should come into force in due course.

A delegate for Ceylon said that Ceylon held the key to the peace of southeast Asia, and the British Government was thinking of a defence scheme in which Ceylon could be introduced as a safeguard. They had invited a Gurkha garrison to be stationed in Ceylon. He therefore appealed to the Government of Nepal not to play into the hands of the British. He added that on account of constitutional provisions by which Britain reserved all effective powers, Ceylon was not at the moment in a position to contribute

wholeheartedly to Asian defence. Another Ceylon delegate pointed out that having lost her other waters Britain wanted to keep the Indian Ocean. It was to maintain a fundamental link that Britain continued to hold Ceylon. It was so in Malaya too.

The delegate for Laos replied to the allegation of the Viet Nameese delegates that what existed in his country was a puppet government. He said they had a monarchy over there because the people did not desire to do away with that institution.

The Nepalese delegate agreed to convey to his Government the opinion expressed at the meeting regarding garrisoning of Garkha troops in Ceylon.

A delegate for Georgia narrated how since the Czarist régime was overthrown Georgia had realised democratic principles on the basis of the Soviet national policy. He mentioned that the constitution of Georgia provided for friendly relations among all groups in its territories and for their independent cultural development.

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Group A met in Plenary Session on 1 April 1947. Dr. G. H. Sadighi (Iran) was elected to the Chair. Before the meeting started discussion on the Rapporteur's report Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru welcomed Dr. Sutan Shariar who had arrived from Indonesia the previous day. "Indonesia has been playing such an important part in Asian and world events in recent years," said Pandit Nehru, "and the coming of Dr. Shariar is of considerable significance for our Conference and for us in India." Pandit Nehru also welcomed the arrival of the Korean delegation. "It is extremely heartening", he said, "to find people coming from far ends of Asia ; it is because of the pull that is drawing all the people of Asia together."

Dr. Shariar replied suitably. Referring to the strength of the Indonesian delegation Dr. Shariar said : "Our being here in such great numbers is in fact due not only to our immense interest in what is happening here but also to the fact that we have been isolated for so many years. We thought it would be a great thing if as many of our people as could be spared from our country could take advantage of such a splendid opportunity to meet so many representatives of nearly all Asia. That is why Indonesia is so greatly represented in this Conference."

The Rapporteur of the Round Table Group, Mr. M. A. Raschid, then presented the following report :

THE REPORT

After some preliminary discussion, it was agreed that as freedom movements are essentially political, the subject should be discussed from all aspects, including the political, to which specific references could be made.

For convenience of discussion, it was decided to consider problems relating to the various countries one after another. References to internal differences were, however, to be avoided.

There was sufficient time for discussion of problems relating to Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Malaya and Viet Nam only. Towards the close of the sitting the Chairman enquired whether the Group desired to discuss the problems of any other Asian country, but no one raised any such problems for discussion.

The discussion revealed a considerable degree of unanimity amongst delegates on the subject. It is not proposed to enter into historical surveys of freedom movements in the Asian countries in this report, although references were frequently made by delegates to important developments in their respective countries.

Freedom movements in Asian countries have derived their inspiration from *the inherent desire of mankind to be free, as also from*¹ revolutionary developments both in neighbouring countries and other parts of the world. An Indonesian delegate mentioned that the movement in that country had been influenced by the revolutions in Russia and China and the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905.

The outbreak of the Second World War focussed greater attention on freedom movements in Asia. The cry of 'Asia for Asiatics' raised by Japan for its own motives gave further incentive to freedom movements in some of the southeast Asian countries.

There is intensive and widespread urge in Asian countries to terminate foreign domination. It is realised that for various reasons Western colonial powers, Britain particularly, cannot afford much longer to hold Asian countries in political subjection. The question may, therefore, resolve itself to the speedy termination and peaceful transfer of political power. *It was felt that Asia as a whole should*

1. The Italics here and in the following pages of the Report indicate the amendments made by the Plenary Sessions.

*develop the attitude that imperialism could not effectively continue to dominate any part of Asia for any length of time and action should therefore be modulated accordingly.*²

Delegates from Burma and Malaya pointed out that it was likely that an attempt may be made by Western powers to continue economic domination in certain countries. It was necessary to bear this aspect of the matter always in mind. Political freedom without economic freedom would be of little value. The smaller countries would need economic assistance and help from other Asian countries. It was hoped, however, that such assistance would not lead to the imposition of domination by any bigger Asian country on any smaller one. In this connection stress was laid by several delegates on the need for co-ordinating the views formulated in this Group with the conclusions evolved by other Groups.

Considerable sympathy and admiration was expressed by delegates from various countries for the struggles for freedom now going on, particularly in Indonesia and Viet Nam. Several delegates pledged the moral support of their respective countries to freedom movements in other Asian countries. *It was hoped that the Allied occupation of Korea would end shortly and that Korea would achieve complete independence.* A delegate from Malaya suggested the formation of a Neutrality Bloc in Asia.

It was urged by delegates from Burma, Indonesia and Malaya that no Asian country should give any direct or indirect assistance to any colonial power in its attempts to keep any Asian country in subjection. Particular reference was made to the need for refusal by all Asian countries of facilities for transport, use of aerodromes, and supplies for armed forces to colonial powers for purposes of domination of other Asian countries.

A Chinese delegate stated that the fear of Chinese domination in certain countries was completely unjustified. In all her history China had never followed a colonial policy. She would not stand in the way of achievement and maintenance of freedom and self-determination by any Asian country.

2. The former sentence was: 'An Indian delegate suggested, with reference to Burma, that Burmans should develop the mental attitude that the British could not effectively continue to govern Burma for any length of time.'

With regard to the use of Indian troops in Burma and Indonesia, it was explained by Indian delegates that the Indian people have all along been opposed to the use of Indian troops in other Asian countries *as well as in any country of the world fighting for its freedom*. Till recently India had no control over her army. It is the policy of the present Interim Government of India to withdraw Indian troops from other Asian countries. In any event these troops would not be allowed to be used for the suppression of national movements for freedom in any country. A delegate from Nepal stated, by way of reply to a Ceylon observer, that he had not heard of any proposal that a garrison of Gurkha troops should be stationed in Ceylon. He promised to draw the attention of the Nepalese Government to the remarks made at the meeting.

In regard to frequent references to the need for help by Asian countries in struggles for freedom in other Asian countries an Indian delegate pointed out that, short of a declaration of war, it was difficult to visualise what form such help could take, except moral support. He emphasised that it was necessary that any support should not have the effect of enlarging the area of conflict. This should, as far as possible, be avoided.

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The Group was unanimously of the view that non-indigenous minorities resident in any Asian country should support and assist the struggle for that country's freedom. It was necessary to ensure complete unity between all peoples resident in a country. A Chinese delegate suggested that in order to retain the sympathy of other Asian countries, all Asian countries should treat the non-indigenous minorities fairly.

A Georgian delegate pointed out that a country cannot be completely free if it does not have the goodwill and friendship of all national minorities. The Georgian constitution has provided for the full and autonomous development of the culture of all peoples in the country.

A delegate from Burma asked for support in getting Burma and other Asian countries admitted as members of the UNO and other international organisations. Delegates from India and China promised full support in the matter. An Indonesian delegate suggested that all other Asian countries should immediately accord recognition to the Indonesian Republic.

It was mentioned by two delegates, one from Ceylon and the other from Malaya, that they felt that Britain was attempting to get stronger in these countries possibly with a view to retaining her supremacy in the Indian Ocean. They pointed out that these countries might become 'danger spots' and developments there need to be carefully watched.

Stress was laid on the need for greater exchange of information between Asian countries regarding their national movements for freedom. The establishment of an Asian news agency for this purpose was suggested by an Indonesian delegate.

There was general agreement that *in all Asian countries national freedom movements should move in the direction of securing social, political, economic and cultural democracy for all their peoples*. It was necessary that the standard of living in all Asian countries should improve with the approach of freedom. In order that this may be done, Asian countries should assist one another by exchange of technical information and experts. A Ceylon delegate urged that the march towards freedom should mean increasing prosperity for the common man.

DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT

Mr. M. S. Enverga (delegate, the Philippines) opened the discussion. He drew attention to the statement in the report that freedom movements in Asian countries have derived their inspiration from revolutionary developments in neighbouring countries and in other parts of the world. He doubted if that was a correct statement to make. The desire to be free, he said, is inherent in every people; it is natural to mankind. If a people draws inspiration from other countries it is in addition to its innate urge to be free. He therefore suggested that a statement to this effect should be included in the report in place of the one that it carried. Mr. Enverga also objected to the statement in the report which drew attention to an Indian delegate's remark during the Round Table discussions that the Burmese should develop the mental attitude that Britain could not effectively continue to govern Burma for any length of time. The mere creation of a mental attitude is not enough, he said, to produce the desired result in freedom movements. As something more tangible he suggested the substitution of 'a policy of peaceful resistance' for 'mental attitude'. Mr. Enverga also pointed out with reference to the recognition by other Asian countries of the Indonesian Republic

that under the principles of international law no nation can accord recognition to another until the former itself was completely sovereign. Therefore he maintained that only sovereign Asian countries were in a position to recognise the new Indonesian state under international law.

Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint (delegate, Burma) observed that freedom movements are a result of what are often called actions and reactions. The world has become very small. Nothing happens anywhere without creating repercussions elsewhere. We must remember the background. The long series of chronological events that have culminated in this Conference should be remembered. Let us not be over-anxious about the details, but leave them to be filled in by a permanent body that may be left behind by the Conference.

Mr. George de Silva (observer, Ceylon) said that every country, large or small, must have complete freedom and sovereignty. Each country must have complete autonomy in its internal affairs. Once a country has won its freedom nobody should be allowed to destroy that freedom. Mr. de Silva emphasised the last point and added that Asian countries should stand together to prevent the hard won freedom of one among them being destroyed either from within or from without the continent. Any action tending to such destruction should call forth the immediate protest of all Asia.

Mr. Wen Yuan-ning (delegate, China) drew specific attention to the suggestion in the report that an Asian news agency should be created for greater exchange of information regarding national movements for freedom. Not one but several national news agencies are needed, he said, representatives of each being sent to several theatres of freedom struggle in Asia and afforded full facilities to cover all news. He deplored the dependence of Asian countries on such Western news agencies as Reuters, the Associated Press and the United Press of America.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (delegate, India) wanted it to be specified in that part of the report where it was said that the Indonesian freedom movement has been influenced by the victory of Japan over Russia, that this referred to the victory of 1905. Next, with reference to the statement that the Indian people had all along opposed the use of Indian troops in other Asian coun-

tries, Mrs. Pandit wanted it to be modified to 'in any country fighting for its freedom', because, she said, in recent Indian history the people had opposed aggression wherever it occurred and not in Asia alone. They had opposed it in Spain, in Abyssinia and elsewhere in Europe. Daw Saw Inn (delegate, Burma) opposed the suggestion of the Philippine delegate that, with reference to Burma a policy of peaceful resistance was the thing to replace mental attitude. "I have the deepest possible respect and admiration for Mahatma Gandhi. At the same time I have to say that the Burmese are a nation of fighters." She could not consent to the amendment of this statement which refers specially to Burma in such a manner. As regards the Philippine delegate's opinions about recognition of sovereignty under international law, Daw Saw Inn remarked that the Conference was not called to observe existing or established international conventions. To extend the hand of friendship to all those countries of Asia that were fighting for their freedom was on the other hand one of its motives.

Miss Karima El-Said (delegate, Egypt) pointed out the incompleteness of Egypt's sovereign status. There was as yet no settlement on the disputed points of British control. On account of the distraction of constitutional unsettlement Egypt's internal development was hampered. Miss Said referred to the provisions of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty and said that no country could be free so long as foreign troops remained on its soil. Egypt proposed appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation not only on this point but in the matter of the Sudan as well. After they quit Egypt, British troops could not be allowed to settle down on the desert. Egypt and the Sudan being contiguous the withdrawal of troops should be from both these territories if it were to be real. The British proposal for a referendum on the question of Egypt's unity with the Sudan would be worth while if their influence and interference is completely removed from the whole of the Nile Valley. Miss Said also explained the preponderantly Arab nature of the Sudanese population. "We appeal to you for your moral support when the Egyptian question is taken to the Security Council", said Miss Said, "to get what any country that exists should get—freedom and independence."

A delegate for Indonesia expressed his belief that the way to prevent misunderstanding is to make clear to the whole world that inter-Asian co-operation is not meant to be a threat to world peace.

The concept of an Asian bloc had been condemned when the Japanese mooted one such some years ago. The concept continued to stand condemned. However, the aim of effective inter-Asian co-operation cannot be the formation of a neutral bloc. As human beings Asians liked to be treated with justice and wished to maintain justice. We must not only dare to condemn every form of injustice in the world but have the courage to fight it consequently. Inter-Asian co-operation would be aimed at the abolition of colonialism in Asia so that all Asian peoples can be freed from want and fear. Far from being a menace to world peace such co-operation must become a means to it. The peace of Asia cannot be separated from world peace. Asian co-operation would be aimed actually not at broadening the area of conflict but at narrowing it, and eliminating conflict altogether by doing away with the activities of the reactionary imperialist powers in Asian territories. The delegate wished to convince his fellow delegates that support from other Asian countries for the freedom struggle going on in countries like Viet Nam and Indonesia need not necessarily extend the area of hostilities. The will to help actually or to give economic and social support, such as hindering the transport of foreign troops to these countries or frustrating the economic blockade which grips them, can and must prevent the intensification or extension of the Western powers' reactionary activities in Asia. He therefore pleaded for effective help between all Asian countries to speed up the withdrawal of foreign troops from Asian territories and for the ending of the economic blockade running around them. The delegate also urged that the masses in Asian countries should be properly organised. They should enjoy social security if world peace is to be ensured because political freedom without economic security is of little value.

The delegate for Korea recounted that when the Allied powers met at Cairo they agreed that Korea should be free and independent on the termination of the war. When Japan surrendered in August 1945 what the Koreans got was Allied occupation and a division of the country into two. At the conference of foreign ministers in Moscow in 1945 the setting up of a joint commission was agreed upon with a view to establishing a provisional government in Korea. But the deliberations of this commission had till then proved infructuous. The Cairo and Moscow declarations regarding Korea had so far remained unfulfilled. Koreans had resisted Japanese domination for thirty-six years and they hoped

to get their independence without having to resist the friendly Allied powers too. The delegate supported the sentiments expressed at the meeting that Asian peoples should be united in their common efforts for the restoration of political independence throughout the continent.

Mr. J. A. Thivy (delegate, Malaya) explained the idea of a neutrality bloc in Asia mentioned in the report. It had been clearly indicated, he said, that such a bloc was for the purpose of preventing aggression by alien powers that dominate certain portions of southeast Asia as much as to prevent a world war. In this sense it was a positive concept. It was put forth to meet the point raised by an Indian delegate during the Round Table discussions that short of a declaration of war it was difficult to visualise what form help to Asian countries in their freedom struggle could take except moral support. As a clarification of the idea of a neutrality bloc, Mr. Thivy elaborated that such a bloc would be used both to prevent assistance reaching alien powers in their suppression of freedom struggles in Asia and also to immobilise Asian territory in the event of a world war. Explaining the word 'immobilising' in this context Mr. Thivy asked what we could do in Asia to prevent the active use of our manpower, economic resources and military bases by imperial powers dominating subject peoples. Immobilisation would actively boycott such use.

Mr. K. Santhanam (delegate, India) said that there was something in the suggestion, but the idea of immobilisation could be applicable only in certain cases and to certain countries; a general proposition like that could not be valid. In case of world war particularly, it depended on the nature of the war too. If the United Nations Organisation, for example, declared war against an aggressive country, Asia could not remain a passive spectator. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (delegate, India) added that the suggestion regarding immobilisation was extremely vague. Throughout the period of the last war India attempted to non-co-operate with British imperialism in the prosecution of the war, but she was unsuccessful in the sense that the nature of the war did not admit of stoppage by such methods. Such non-co-operation no doubt raised our morale and was certainly a notable gesture, but it could not be expected to stop wars. Mr. M. A. Raschid (delegate, Burma) also opposed the suggestion of a neutrality bloc. It would be impossible to work it, especially in the form in which it had been

designed by Mr. Thivy. It would have been possible, perhaps, to consider a defensive union but that is very different from a neutrality bloc. That a free Asian country can avoid being involved in the event of a war by the sort of neutrality proposed was more easily said than done. A country refusing help might itself be attacked on that account when willingly or unwillingly it would be involved in hostilities.

Mr. Han Lih-wu (delegate, China) at this stage spoke expressing pleasure at the presence of the delegates of Korea at the plenary session. "I am sure I am voicing the feeling of all of you", said Mr. Han, "when I wish godspeed to our Korean brothers in their movement for freedom and democratic government. I am sure that neither our Soviet nor our American friends in their occupation areas would be there long. We are all aiming at the same thing—an independent, strong and democratic Korea."

The Chairman concurred with the Chinese delegate's sentiments. The Conference hoped that the Allied occupation of Korea would end shortly and that Korea would achieve complete independence.

A delegate for Palestine Jews then resuming discussion of the report observed that he would not like the report on national movements for freedom to be confined to the political aspect only. Their movement in Palestine did not accept the view that constructive work should wait for the achievement of political independence. Freedom movements should not be confined to political struggle but should try to better the lot of the people by constructive work in every sphere of national life so as to build the nucleus of the future independent life of the people.

Madam Paz Mendez (delegate, the Philippines) agreed with the delegate for Palestine Jews. Madam Mendez said that political freedom should include the equality of the sexes. A delegate for Siam also agreed with the delegate for Palestine Jews regarding the content of a freedom movement and added that the Siamese people regarded all those struggling for liberty as the objects of their sympathy and goodwill. "We give them not only our moral support but also any material support which we can extend to them. We are with them in spirit and in action."

A delegate for Viet Nam said that what was needed in Asia was not a neutrality bloc but a fighting federation. There can be no national union between the French and the Viet Nameese even as there can be none between the Dutch and the Indonesians, or the British and Indians. America has the Monroe Doctrine and there are attempts at a federation of Europe. "We in Asia should form one great federation, not against Europe, nor against America, but to fight and protect our freedom."

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao (delegate, India) criticised the way the Rapporteur had drawn the Group report. It needed what he called integration and high-lighting. On the point of extending material or moral support to countries conducting freedom struggles, Dr. Rao said that there were various degrees and methods in which countries can help others without actual declaration of war. This had been proved during World War II. U.S. aid during the first two years of it was a prominent example. He could not associate himself with the view that moral support was about all the alternative to declaration of war for helping national freedom movements. Nor could he associate himself with the reference made to the development of a particular mental attitude by the Burmese. Asia as a whole should develop the attitude, he said, that imperialism could not effectively continue to dominate any part of Asia for any length of time, and they should therefore modulate their actions accordingly. Dr. Rao also felt that the report should make reference to the part that non-violence and civil resistance can play in achieving freedom in countries where violent resistance is not possible owing to the populations being disarmed.

The Chairman said that the Indian delegate's amendment to the statement on mental attitude in the report had been accepted but held that it was right that issues not discussed in the Round Table Groups should not be included by the Rapporteur in his report.

Mr. K. G. Saiyidain (delegate, India) drew the attention of the Conference to the fact that the emphasis of the report was mainly on the political side of freedom movements. As to the direction which freedom would take when achieved, the report mentioned the democratic basis of freedom. Mr. Saiyidain suggested elaboration of this by a statement that in Asian countries freedom movements should move in the direction of social, political, economic and cultural democracy.

Mr. K. Santhanam (delegate, India) referred to two points not covered in the report. Many Asian countries which are now emerging into freedom are making treaties with their erstwhile ruling powers. In all these treaties no clause should be incorporated which might in any way affect or restrict intercourse between Asian countries whether it be in the political or economic sphere. Asian countries should not bind themselves to any stipulation likely to restrict inter-Asian relations. Next Mr. Santhanam urged that Asian countries should join together to press for the representation of Asia in the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation commensurate with the continent's population and importance.

The plenary session then adopted the Rapporteur's report on Topic I with the amendments agreed to during the proceedings.

GROUP B

TOPICS II & III

RACIAL PROBLEMS AND INTER-ASIAN MIGRATION

The Round Table Group B of the Conference discussed Topic II—Racial Problems, and Topic III—Inter-Asian Migration, in two sittings on 25 March 1947, forenoon and afternoon. The plenary session of the Group was held on 26 March 1947. The Chairman of the Round Table was Dr. Wen Yuan-ning (delegate, China) ; Vice-Chairman, Sardar K. M. Panikkar (delegate, India) ; and Rapporteurs, Dr. Baron Haimendorff (distinguished guest, India) and Mr. Mohd. Salleh Daud (delegate, Malaya).

DISCUSSION

Two delegates for India stressed at the outset the need for discussing the subject of race in broader terms. Whatever the scientific meaning of the word may be, said one of them, the meeting was concerned in discussing racial equality, not with reference to the relationship between one racial group and another different racial group, but with the relationship between one race and another in terms of a state or a nation. There are three criteria by which a government should be judged in its dealing with races, said the other Indian delegate. First, complete equality before the law ;

second, complete religious equality—there should be no distinction between persons professing and practising different religions; and third, no public social discrimination—there should be no disqualification for the use of social amenities.

Delegates for China, India and Indonesia pointed out that no statutory discrimination against any race existed either in their present or proposed constitutions as the case may be. A delegate for Burma, however, observed that though it was agreed that those who choose to become the nationals of the country of their adoption should enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship of that country, for those who still remained the nationals of their country of origin it would be preferable to apply the principle of reciprocity based on mutual agreement between the governments. A delegate for India added that each state should have the right to determine the future composition of its nationhood. Even though non-citizen groups cannot claim political rights in the country, they should have equality before the law. The problem of communities temporarily settled in different parts and claiming special rights, even though not citizens of the state concerned, for maintaining their separate culture was on a different footing.

A delegate for Burma drew attention to the complicated nature of the problem as it presented itself in several Asian countries. A group in a country which does not choose the latter's nationality is obviously part of the foreign nationality. Therefore even among migrant communities there will be two groups—one that will choose to become nationals of the country of adoption and the other that will not do so. Either way the problem will be complicated. If a large number of migrants choose local nationality such action might go against the indigenous races; if on the other hand they do not do so, it would then be unfair to suggest that the migrants should be called back to their mother country. Countries have of course the right to frame laws of citizenship and naturalisation, but we have to consider whether any line of agreement, in the background of existing conditions, can be laid down.

A delegate for Ceylon while accepting that any country has a right to determine its future population said that we should be careful to define that only the future population can be determined by any law and no such law can discriminate against groups who

had already been resident in the country for a reasonable period and which wish to continue to remain in that country.

A delegate for Malaya explained the position with regard to citizenship in his country. Only 40 per cent of the population of Malaya is indigenous, he said. It had been defined that only those who look to Malaya alone as their homeland are entitled to Malayan citizenship and this definition was being enforced. They had accepted the statement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that citizenship should be extended only to those who regarded Malaya as the object of their loyalty. Therefore, said the delegate, in the contemplated citizenship law the Indian and the Chinese are called upon to make a vital and final choice whether or not he wants to be a citizen of Malaya today, because, in the laws of the Chinese Republic the Chinese are nationals of their country, and the Indians who constitute the other large immigrant community of Malaya are today British subjects. Both these groups are unable to divest themselves of their respective nationalities. The rights and obligations of those who claimed Malayan citizenship are on the other hand fundamental.

A delegate for China explained the position regarding dual citizenship as affecting the Chinese. A person claiming citizenship in Malaya divests himself of his nationality in his motherland. In Chinese law a Chinese who has resided for a number of years in Malayan or Indonesian territory and comes back to China is required to re-register himself in the latter country. The Chinese consulate in Malaya was asking all Chinese there to state if they wanted Malayan citizenship and they were told that in case they chose it their Chinese citizenship rights would cease. But under Chinese law they could become Chinese nationals again on giving up Malayan nationality even if they choose it and retained it for some time. In other words a Chinese would have only one citizenship at a time.

A delegate for Palestine Jews explained that the term 'alien' does not apply to the Jews in Palestine—a fact which he said had been recognised under international law. Palestine belongs to the Arabs living there, he added, and the Jewish people from wherever they come. It was a question of dual nationality.

A delegate for Burma then spoke on matters connected with discrimination in franchise. He conceded that there was some

discrimination in the election to the Constituent Assembly of Burma. This was due to the definition of the term 'national' which covered a person born and having resided in Burma for eight out of ten years preceding either 1942 or 1947. This automatically shut out a large number of Indians from the election to the Assembly. It had been promised, however, that the discrimination arising out of the present definition would be removed. The franchise was not in any case likely to be on a communal basis. It would be based more on nationality and residential qualifications. The delegate conceded that there was apprehension among the Indians and Chinese in Burma that there would be discrimination. But Burma's declared policy was against recognising any inequality as between nationals of the country. But as regards holding of property by Indians in Burma, the entire problem of those who will form the non-national group would have to be considered.

A delegate for China raised the question of legislation against the Chinese by the Indonesian Government. The Chairman also pointed out that many Chinese were killed there latterly. It would be well to know the reason, he said, so that when methods of promoting understanding came up for consideration we might know how to avoid friction.

A delegate for Indonesia said in reply that the killing of the Chinese was traceable to the Dutch policy of according trading rights to the Chinese and enriching them at the expense of the Indonesians. In some cases the Dutch used the Chinese as agent provocateurs. There was also the fact that the Chinese in Indonesia tended to be narrow-minded and on the whole still remained unassimilated despite three centuries of stay there.

The Chairman observed that many of the ills were traceable to the exclusiveness of the settlers, and clubs were the strongholds of such exclusiveness. The other reason why the Chinese and the Indians were looked upon with so much disfavour in this part of Asia was that the moneyed people of these communities did not benefit those from whom they derived this money, by endowing educational and public health facilities for them.

The Group next took up the question of devising ways and means to eliminate racial conflicts and promote understanding. A delegate for India observed that the question of discrimination arose mainly in the case of two emigrant communities in the south-east Asia region, namely, Indians and Chinese. The reason to his mind was clear. There was in the first place a feeling that the natives of the soil are being turned out of their livelihood by a people who did not look upon those countries as their own. The wealth earned by members of these emigrant communities was kept continually remitted to their mother countries. Even when a part of this wealth was expended where it was amassed the indigenous population did not benefit much from such spending. The hostility which this state of affairs released was quite understandable. But there was also the feeling in the minds of these emigrant Chinese and Indians that amidst the resentment that surrounded them it was not wise for them to root themselves so thoroughly in the countries of their adoption. It is the interaction of such fears, said the delegate, that begets discriminatory treatment in the concerned areas. The problem could not be solved unless the immigrant communities accept loyalty to the country of adoption and not look back to their countries of origin. If they must, then in fairness they should not ask for more than civilised treatment from the countries of their settlement. The problem was not so much of racial dislike as a suspicion on the part of these countries of southeast Asia, which are small in comparison with the population and resources of India and China, that they may get mixed up with these big countries through the immigrant communities.

A delegate for Malaya agreed that the Chinese in Malaya, for example, cannot have their bodies there and minds in China. In fact there were indigenous Chinese and Indians as well as overseas Chinese and Indians in certain countries of southeast Asia and the latter tended to look upon the former as aliens. The former must now choose their nationality.

A delegate for Ceylon observed that in Ceylon problems had been created on account of factors over which neither India nor Ceylon had any control. The ruling power was responsible for bringing into the country a large immigrant population to work on the coffee and rubber estates. Nearly a fifth of Ceylonese population was now made up of such plantation labour. There are quite

a number among non-nationals who are domiciled in Ceylon for generations. There was not much problem with regard to these. But, said the delegate, there is also an itinerant alien labour population in the case of whom the problem of racial conflict is of direct consequence. The solution of this problem would be far less difficult if the third party, namely, the ruling power is eliminated from the country. The present feeling of self-preservation and fear of economic submergence and eventual elimination should not be allowed to stand in the way of better understanding and greater co-operation in the future. Freedom from fear must be ensured. Changing circumstances will greatly facilitate solution of racial problems.

A delegate for India set down a few concrete suggestions. First, discriminatory legislation should as far as possible be prevented. Secondly, the non-citizen permanent alien groups which have so far cropped up as a direct result of British imperialism should be eliminated from the countries where they are numerous by offering citizenship rights to them or treating them as aliens come there on temporary business. Thirdly, political parties should be non-racial and non-communal in composition and should be based purely on economic principles. Fourthly, all countries should take steps to assimilate the non-indigenous groups in them.

A delegate for China appreciated these suggestions but was of opinion that citizenship was a personal affair. So far as the Chinese abroad were concerned many of them retained their Chinese citizenship as a matter of sentiment. The Chinese Government, however, adopted a passive attitude in regard to emigration and the question of affording diplomatic protection did not arise. A delegate for Burma also endorsed the suggestions. Speaking for the Indian minority in Burma, he said they would not base their claim to any right on race. They were willing to be merged with Burmese nationality.

The Chairman wound up the discussion of racial problems by observing that in eliminating the roots of race conflict there was both a long-term and a short-term approach. The fear of being swarmed by immigrant communities should be removed from the minds of those countries that receive them. Social exclusiveness must go. Philanthropy on the part of the wealthy members among emigrant groups must increase.

The Group next proceeded to discuss Topic III, Inter-Asian Migration. It was pointed out by an Indian delegate that confining oneself to Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and India the problem had been complicated by the existence of what may be called a common British nationality. If for example the problem of Indians in Ceylon is to be tackled on the basis of nationality and citizenship, so long as Indians share British nationality with Ceylon their claims arise from two different sources—first from the fact of Indian migration and second, on the basis of being in possession of British nationality. This duality prevented satisfactory solutions of the problem of Indians in Burma, Malaya and Ceylon. The difficulty arising from differentiation between citizenship and naturalisation rights can disappear only when separate nationality laws are enacted in all countries concerned. A delegate for Ceylon replying to this said that the present position was that all countries had a right to separate law of nationality and citizenship irrespective of British nationality. That being so, common British nationality must be considered to have ceased to exist.

A delegate for Burma, taking up the question of inter-Asian migration as it affected his country, stated that Burmese national policy of the future must always be shaped by the ever present fear of being swarmed either by Indians or by the Chinese. Burma was between two great powers. It was terrible to be ruled by a Western power, but it was even more so to be ruled by an Asian power. Burma was naturally frightened by the possibility that British imperialism may be substituted either by an Indian or by a Chinese imperialism. The fact was there that out of a decennial increase of two million in the population in Burma a million were Indian and Chinese, while the death rate among the Burmese was mounting. They were afraid that the open spaces would be occupied by others.

The delegate for China said in reply to this statement that he wished to assure the Burmese as well as the Malays that they need have no fear of being swamped by the Chinese or of a Chinese imperialism. It had never been the settled policy of the Chinese Government to encourage emigration of their nationals to Burma and other countries. Moreover wherever the Chinese are found in large numbers they were not known to have taken part in local politics. They were there as a commercial community. The inherent principle of Chinese nationalism was that all dependent

peoples should be enabled to gain self-government. The Chinese should be given a chance to say whether they would like to continue to be Chinese citizens or wish to integrate themselves with the local population. At the same time if this problem was sought to be solved by force, by asking the non-indigenous groups either to naturalise within a short period or get repatriated to their country, there was likely to be conflict. There might be psychological reasons for members of these groups to prefer the citizenship of their mother country. The best way to deal with such cases would probably be to treat them as foreign nationals on a basis of reciprocity and to allow them to live in the countries of adoption only as long as they fulfilled an economic function. If the Chinese became economically functionless in Burma or Malaya, or were found to be encroaching upon the livelihood of the Burmese and the Malays, the Chinese Government would devise ways and means of withdrawing such population into its own territories.

Burmese and Indian delegates pointed out that the above sentiments should not mean a contradiction of the views put forward by the Group while discussing Topic II that the policy of the concerned states should be not to have permanent aliens and efforts should be made to assimilate aliens in due course of time, because permanent aliens would continue to be under the diplomatic protection of their mother country. Other Indian delegates added that it was no fault of the Ceylonese or the Indians that the present Indian population was in Ceylon. The future policy for them would not only be a mere migration policy but a question of populational adjustment. Having lost all touch with India they did not seem to be in a position to get help from Indians. India did not seem to have space enough to take them back but their case demanded human justice all the same. Countries had no doubt the right to restrict future emigration, but people who have already settled in the various countries should be treated not only with justice but with generosity. The views expressed during the discussion were summarised as follows: (i) Each country will have absolute right to limit immigration, but this limitation should be based on the principle of non-discrimination. Though it would be desirable to apply this principle to all the races of mankind, it should definitely be applicable among Asians at least. (ii) So far as the present population is concerned, countries handling immigrant or emigrant population should pass simple nationality laws.

The Group finally discussed the problem of aboriginal and backward populations. It was pointed out that this could not be treated as a mere internal problem of any country because many tribal populations inhabited the borders. Some backward tribes had already been assimilated into the local communities, others were in the process of assimilation, and some still remained untouched by civilisation. A scientific study of these people was advocated with a view to finding out how and why the aboriginal tribes had remained primitive in the midst of civilisation. International co-operation seemed to be called for in handling the problem of the backward and tribal peoples.

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Group B met in plenary session on 26 March 1947. Dr. Han Lih-wu (China) was elected to the Chair. One of the Rapporteurs of the Round Table Group, Dr. Haimendorff, presented the following report :

THE REPORT

After a short preliminary discussion on the definition of 'race' and 'racial discrimination', the Chairman outlined the main principles which should govern the relations of different racial groups in all Asian countries. These principles are :

1. Complete legal equality of all citizens ;
2. Complete religious freedom of all citizens ;
3. No public social disqualification of any racial group ;
4. Equality before the law of persons of foreign origin who have settled in the country.

Representatives of China, India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma and several other countries stated that the existing or proposed constitutions of their respective countries did not contain any provision for discrimination based on racial grounds. The consensus of opinion was that equality between all citizens of a country, irrespective of race and creed, should be the rule for all countries. *While condemning unequal treatment, it was hoped that governments would take measures to implement the principle of equality.*

The next point for discussion was the legal status of immigrant populations, such as Indians in Burma and Ceylon, and Chinese in

Malaya, Burma and Indonesia. All delegates agreed that a distinction must be made between those immigrants who identify themselves with their country of adoption and apply for naturalisation, and those who choose to remain nationals of their mother country.

The Vice-Chairman expressed the opinion that every state must be its own judge over the composition of its nationhood, and must consequently be granted the right to restrict or control immigration. While this view was generally accepted, most delegates emphasised that laws relating to immigration should not have retrospective effect. But the leader of the Ceylon delegation drew attention to the fact that a distinction should be made between those with a permanent interest in the country of immigration and those who constitute a floating labour population.

After a discussion on the technicalities of naturalisation it was generally felt that:

- (i) All foreign settlers in Asian countries who are prepared to comply with the naturalisation laws and who look upon the country of their adoption as their homeland and sole object of their loyalty should be granted full citizenship.
- (ii) Alien settlers who want to retain the nationality of their country of origin should have equality before the law—without having civic rights should enjoy safety of person and property, and should be treated in a generous and humane spirit.

Several delegates raised the problem whether dual nationality should be permissible. It was pointed out, for instance, that Chinese cannot divest themselves of their nationality and that Chinese accepting the nationality of another country do not prejudice thereby their claim to Chinese nationality. The Chinese delegates explained that Chinese returning to China from abroad must register in their own country, in order to regain full citizen rights, and this may be taken as proof that their Chinese nationality remains dormant while they are abroad and enjoy the privileges of the nationality of a different country. It was generally agreed that at any one time a person can have only one nationality, and that no person can claim citizenship of a country and at the same time enjoy the protection of his home country. Indeed, an Indian delegate pointed out that such countries as India and China should

not encourage emigrants to look for help to their home country, but that emigrants permanently settling in a foreign country should be advised to identify themselves with that country.

Whereas most delegates agreed that liberal naturalisation laws should regularise the status of existing foreign settlers, there was considerable divergence of opinion in regard to future immigration. Many delegates, though recognising the right of every country to control immigration, felt that complete prohibition of all immigration would lead to ill-feeling between the countries concerned, and therefore, advocated a quota system. It was emphasised, however, that such a quota system should not lead to the total exclusion of the nationals of any Asian country as such.

A Burmese delegate explained why some of the smaller countries of southeast Asia insisted on restricting immigration. He spoke of Burma's fear of being swamped by the people of the two powerful and populous neighbouring countries, India and China, and mentioned that at present Burma's foreign, i.e. non-Burmese, population was increasing much more rapidly than the indigenous population. A Malayan delegate supported this view by saying that in Malaya a similar process has led to a situation where the Malays form a minority of about 40 per cent in their own homeland. A Ceylon delegate pointed out that in Ceylon the Indian population amounted at present to about one-sixth of the total population, and that in the minds of the Ceylonese there was the fear of domination and even of ultimate submergence.

At the Chairman's request to face the realities of conflicts between indigenous and immigrant populations, the delegates proceeded to explore the causes for the hostility and suspicion prevailing in several Asian countries between the autochthonous inhabitants and recent immigrants. None of the delegates denied that such hostility did exist, and the Vice-Chairman summarised the general view by pointing out that in most cases economic factors were responsible for tension and distrust. People such as the Burmese and the Malays felt that Indians and Chinese exploited them, and used the resources of the country to build up wealth which was finally sent out to the settlers' homeland. The Indians and Chinese, on the other hand, fully conscious of this resentment, were doubtful of the security of their property in Burma or Malaya and for this very reason tried to transfer profits to India or China.

Thus a vicious circle was created which can be broken only by a change of attitude among both parties. The fear of economic submergence on the part of the economically less advanced indigenous populations must be removed, and the newcomers must be assured of full rights of citizenship if they choose to identify themselves with the people of the country. *It was also pointed out that formation of political parties on a communal basis can be an additional cause of racial conflict.*

All delegates agreed that while legally there is little discrimination against individual racial or national groups, there is considerable *de facto* discrimination in the sphere of administration and public life. Various measures were suggested in order to overcome this discrimination and to remove mutual suspicion. There was general agreement that the long-term methods of education, social contacts and cultural exchange were indispensable for a lasting elimination of all racial inequalities, but various delegates expressed the belief that such immediate steps as the opening up of communal social institutions to other communities and the financing of social services or the establishment of hospitals and schools by wealthy immigrants would greatly contribute to the lessening of tension.

Towards the end of the session the problem of backward communities, such as the aboriginal tribes of India, Burma and Indonesia, was shortly discussed. The Vice-Chairman pointed out that the position of these backward tribal communities was similar in most countries of south and southeast Asia. They were distinct from the rest of the population not owing to any recent political development, nor to administrative arrangements such as the 'Excluded Areas' of India, but owing to their age-old cultural and racial isolation. Their assimilation to the standards of advanced populations was by no means easy and could not be left to chance. It was necessary to study their cultural, social and economic conditions before embarking on any policy aiming at their ultimate assimilation, and for such scientific anthropological study of tribal populations international co-operation was required. An Indian delegate from the province of Bihar concurred with this view and emphasised that the aboriginals must be helped to develop on the lines of their own culture so that in the future they could themselves choose between their tribal style of life and the civilisation of materially more advanced populations.

DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT

The meeting took up discussion of the report in two parts—racial problems and inter-Asian migration. Opening the discussion on the former Mr. Kupradze (delegate, Georgia) drew the attention of the Conference to the fact that in the Soviet Union racial discrimination was punishable under law. He wanted this fact to be mentioned in the report at the appropriate place. When one declared that there should be absolute racial equality, said Mr. Kupradze, measures should be taken to ensure such equality.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (delegate, Ceylon) said that if the amendment to the report suggested by the delegate for Georgia meant that the opinions expressed in that part of the report on racial discrimination should be given effect to by necessary governmental measures, it would raise complicated issues regarding the scope of the Conference. As the Conference was of an informal nature without the association of the governments of the participating countries with it, it would not be proper to lay down that the opinions expressed in the Group reports should be followed up by measures to give effect to them. The delegations of the Conference do not represent the governments of their countries. They are participating in the Conference unofficially. It was better to preserve the belief that those who participated in the Conference would endeavour as far as possible to get the views of the Conference translated into active measures in their respective countries. The Conference was meant to promote understanding of each others' problems and not to go into the internal affairs of any country, and much less to call upon governments of participating countries to give effect to its conclusions which could only be by legislative action.

Mr. Wen Yuan-ning (delegate, China) said that it could not have been the intention of the proposer of the amendment that by adopting it we should commit our respective governments. What the amendment suggested was simply that those who took part in the discussions would, when they got home, work for legislation on these principles in their respective countries.

Mr. Naganathan (delegate, Ceylon) observed that though nobody was bound by the decisions of the Conference it was certainly a privilege for us to be the conscience of the world in such important and contentious matters like migration and racial

problems. There was a natural fear of domination in the countries of southeast Asia from big countries like India and China, not necessarily domination by influx of population but fear that economic domination will be a threat to nationalism in these countries. It was a fear engendered largely by the absence of immigration laws in these countries, and why should they not, asked the delegate, insist that such laws should be passed by the different countries and be based on a mutually understood equity and uniformity. The problem of emigrant communities was more or less uniform between the concerned Asian countries and it should be possible for the Conference to formulate some kind of a uniform recommendation to all the countries which they should follow. If countries had naturalisation laws and did things their own way it may lead to discrimination. While it is necessary and correct, said Mr. Naganathan, for every country to choose its own population of the future, no country has a right, for reasons of humanity and social justice, to create a foreign element which remains for ever servile and subject.

A delegate for Azerbaijan said that the problem of race was important for the future not only of Asian peoples but of the whole world. The grim memories of a war based on doctrines of race supremacy were still there. "We Asian peoples meeting here," said he, "should make a note in the report that we condemn all theories based on the supremacy of one race over another." The delegate therefore proposed that measures should be taken by every country to punish by law attempts at domination by any particular race. There should also be statutory provision against racial discrimination.

The Chairman reviewing the consensus of opinion in the matter said with the approval of the meeting that the report should declare that we condemn unequal treatment, and add a suggestion that measures should be taken to implement the Conference's recommendation.

At this stage Miss Leilamani Naidu (delegate, India) rose on a point of order. She said that there was a definite amendment before the plenary session which had neither been defeated nor accepted. The amendment was to the effect that the recommendations be sent up by the Conference to the governments of the various Asian countries. Miss Naidu asked what decision had been arrived at in regard to that.

The Secretary (Dr. A. Appadorai) explained with the consent of the Chairman that the procedure of the Conference did not admit of making recommendations or passing resolutions. But the purpose of these would be served by making clear in the report what the consensus of opinion in the Conference was in this matter. When the report is forwarded to the governments or delegates concerned, said the Secretary, public opinion and governments are supposed to take necessary action in the matter.

Miss Naidu said that it should be quite ineffectual if the Conference merely made a long report. She pressed that the Asian Relations Conference should follow the procedure that is followed in every world conference today. A separate resolution should be passed urging the governments of all Asian countries to take immediate steps to implement the suggestions put forth by the Conference. The Conference was the only existing organ of Asian opinion. Mrs. V. L. Pandit (delegate, India) also associated herself with these views and said that the purpose of the Conference would be defeated if a specific recommendation were not made to all governments to act in accordance with the principles accepted by the Conference.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru (delegate, India) said that much as he sympathised with the Indian delegates that had just spoken, it was obvious that the procedure relating to the Conference was such as to debar it from passing any such resolution or making any proposals. The Indian Council of World Affairs under whose auspices the Asian Relations Conference had been convened observed the rules laid down in its constitution that it will only discuss various matters in an objective spirit but express no opinion in a corporate capacity. Pandit Kunzru hoped therefore that the delegates assembled would refrain from urging the Conference to take a contrary course. The practical effect of the deliberations of the Conference would make men think and take seriously into account the opinions that had been expressed and bring themselves into line with public opinion in various countries.

The Secretary informed the meeting that the Steering Committee of the Conference had adopted a rule that no resolutions are to be passed by the Asian Relations Conference except one which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would propose about the establishment of a permanent organisation of the Conference. The Secretary

expressed his belief that this rule made by the Steering Committee was final. He also added that when a report was accepted by the Conference, such acceptance was equivalent to a resolution being passed. Moreover it had been specifically stated at the time invitations to the Conference were sent out that it would not pass any resolutions.

Mrs. Pandit thereupon observed that the particular problem of racial discrimination was entirely different in emphasis, in the present world context, from the rest of the agenda of the Conference. Would it not be anomalous, asked Mrs. Pandit, if we talked loudly on race in the United Nations without being able to recommend measures to Governments in our own Asian Conference?

Mr. Bandaranaike fully sympathised with Mrs. Pandit, but as the rule had been laid by the Steering Committee he asked for a ruling on the point from the Chair. Of Mrs. Pandit's work in the United Nations they were all proud, but this was a matter which would go against the understanding on which delegates had come to the Conference as well as the decision of the Steering Committee.

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon (observer, India Institute) rose on a point of order and said that the Steering Committee had decided nothing of the kind. In case such a decision did exist, Mr. Menon wanted it to be produced.³ Several other delegates also demanded that the Steering Committee's resolution on the subject should be placed for information on the table of the house. Miss Naidu again pointed out that the type of resolution which she had proposed was different from the type the Secretary had in mind. The resolution now proposed affected the procedure and not the subject matter under discussion. It was merely a question of formulating procedure for future meetings.

The Chairman said that the meeting should discuss subjects in a spirit of goodwill and tolerance. It was better to have a comprehensive report sent up to all governments than have separate resolutions. But he did not want to give any ruling on the point of order immediately. It would be referred back to the Steering Committee and the Secretary would report to the Conference again the decision of the Steering Committee in the matter.⁴

3. See p. 12 for confirmation of the Secretary's statement.

4. See page 197.

On the motion of Dr. P. S. Lokanathan (delegate, India) the meeting accepted the Chairman's suggestion.

The plenary session then resumed discussion of the causes of racial conflict and the ways of removing them. Mr. K. Santhanam (delegate, India) observed that one of the causes of the conflict between emigrant and indigenous populations was the attempt at political and social segregation, especially the former. The tendency to form racial or communal political parties and for the emigrant and indigenous populations to think of themselves as separate political entities was the root trouble and should be reversed. The report should incorporate this point in some form.

Mr. M. A. Raschid (delegate, Burma) supported Mr. Santhanam. It was a vicious circle that we plead for communal and racial safeguards which lead to bitterness and again we ask for more safeguards. The present Indian community in Burma had made it clear that it does not want any safeguards. Mr. Raschid agreed that the report should embrace this point. And Mr. Dinanath (delegate, Burma) strongly supported him, pleading in the interest of harmonious race relationship. Mr. Sanyal (distinguished guest) opposed Mr. Santhanam's proposal as being not only shortsighted in Indian conditions but unnecessary where we were concerned only with broad principles. Mr. P. N. Thirunavukarasu (delegate, Ceylon) was also of opinion that it may not be admissible to lay down such a proposition at this stage. The formation or non-formation of parties on racial lines should depend, he said, on the response of Governments to the suggestions of the Conference. If an emigrant community had vitalised itself on its own virtue and philosophy to a substantial numerical strength in the country of its adoption and if the majority in that country continued to think against such a group, was numerical strength not to count for anything at all?

With the concurrence of the meeting the Chairman said that the report should incorporate the point made out during the discussion that formation of political parties on a communal basis is also a cause of racial conflict.

The plenary session then adopted the Rapporteur's report on Topics II and III with the amendments agreed to during the proceedings.

GROUP C

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The Round Table Group C of the Conference discussed Topic IV—Transition from Colonial to National Economy, Topic V—Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development, and Topic VI—Labour Problems and Social Services. The Round Table had two sittings for Topic IV, one each day on 24 and 25 March 1947; three sittings for Topic V, one each on 25, 26 and 27 March 1947; two sittings for Topic VI on 30 March 1947, forenoon and afternoon. The Group also had a joint sitting for Topic VI with the Round Table Group E on 31 March 1947. The plenary session of the Group was held on 29 March 1947 for Topics IV and V and on 1 April 1947 for Topic VI.

TOPIC IV. TRANSITION FROM COLONIAL TO
NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Chairman of the Round Table for Topic IV was Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (delegate, Ceylon); Vice-Chairman, Mr. D. Sjahroezah (delegate, Indonesia); and Rapporteur, Prof. D. R. Gadgil (delegate, India).

DISCUSSION

In his opening remarks the Chairman observed that in the discussion of the subject some consideration of the past as a background may not be undesirable, because the future springs from the past. However the main thing for discussion was the present position of Asian countries in the matter of transition from a colonial to national economy. Some countries are purely colonial while others are in various stages of advance towards national government, but not necessarily towards a national economy. Very often political changes have outstripped the economic changes. The

Chairman said that delegates might wish to contribute their views from this angle.

A delegate for Ceylon describing the conditions in his country said that in 1938 Ceylon's national income was about Rs. 613 million or Rs. 113 per capita. The post-war national income was much more consequent upon HMG's expenditure in Ceylon on war services. This was of course a rise more in money income than in real income. The per capita income stood at about Rs. 200 in 1943-44. Income distribution among the population was unsatisfactory. On approximate estimates, about 80 per cent of the people are below an income of Rs. 25 per month per head. The economy is unbalanced and even precarious because for about more than half of the national income the country is dependent on three or four export commodities like tea, rubber, and coconuts. The production structure is itself backward. The substantial foreign capital invested in the country necessitated payments in goods. Ceylon was trying to make up such and other deficiencies through planning.

ASIAN COUNTRIES AFTER THE WAR

A delegate for Azerbaijan said that only a discussion of the details of a country's economic strength could reveal a better solution to the problems of transition. There were some Asian countries actively involved in World War II and some others were out of it. The economic conditions in some of the former were very low and had to be raised. The Soviet Union was in particular facing heavy expenditure on this account. War damage was being carefully repaired. The problem of employment was closely allied with such reconstruction programme.

A delegate for China observed that one of the main features of a colonial economy was the great influence therein of foreign interests. Besides there are features like the tariff which may not be under the control of the domestic government. China had now passed out of this stage. Though she welcomed foreign investments, indigenous capital was frankly preferred. China had now her own national industries, though by and large the economic system was still based on free enterprise. The situation is still far from what the Chinese desire, but this is not attributable by any means to the fact that the country had moved from a colonial to national economy. The unsatisfactory conditions were due to extraneous circumstances which were not merely economic. How-

ever, China had learned a lesson which was that certain guarantees and conditions of stability must accompany any transition from a colonial to a national economy. We are right now in a world situation where even countries which can be said to possess national economies are far from economic independence, with the possible exception of the United States. The prosperity of countries today depends on the largest volume of international trade that can be maintained by the world as a whole irrespective of whether the economies of countries are colonial or national. In a similar way the new international arrangements that had been evolved for currency and credit are going to be very important in the post-war transition—to colonial and national economies alike.

A delegate for Burma said that prior to the war not only was the Burmese economy colonial in the sense that Western capital dominated, but there was a substantial investment from neighbouring countries like India and China. The position with regard to capital investment on the eve of the war was that Western capital preponderated in the mineral industries, in the exploitation of forest wealth and rice milling. Capital from India and other neighbouring countries was mainly concentrated in agriculture and commerce. In the latter the top rungs were held by Europeans while Indians and Chinese shared the rest. There was no centralised economy and each group strove for its own maximum profit. At the moment they had set up what were called project boards which were financed from external, mainly British, loans. As to what pattern of economy will evolve in the future—whether there would be the same old economy with its predominantly rural character and the familiar class structure of the bigger, middle and small capitalists,—and what the right line would be to prevent disintegrating influences will depend, he said, on the attitude of the neighbouring countries.

Prof. D. R. Gadgil (delegate, India) outlining the nature of colonial and national economies said that the former could be defined as those obtaining in regions which are being exploited by metropolitan countries, the economy of the colony being adapted to be complementary to the economy of the metropolitan country. In this event the latter requires a certain trade pattern with the former. The development of such trade necessitates the creation of a particular production economy by the metropolitan country in the colony and holding it at a particular stage in the exploited country. A

variety of such economies prevails in southeast Asia. There might for example be the exploitation of single products like rubber, tea or teak which may in particular enjoy a demand from the Western industrialised countries. In such cases plantation economies spring up in the colonies. We have also direct investment by European capitalists in the plantation economies which naturally leads to the breaking up of the local peasant economy. It may however be quite unnecessary or not possible to introduce plantation economies into certain regions like India and China where the local peasant is himself encouraged to exploit his land in a particular direction as for example the growing of a commercial crop like cotton.

Arising from this pattern of primary production and trade is the growth of certain particular industries in colonial countries. Industrial development has been confined to spheres which were auxiliary to trade. The transition in the trade and industrialisation of colonial economies is at present in different stages of progress. Indigenous capital has made headway in certain countries like China while in others foreign capitalists entirely dominate. In the pattern of trade too, colonial economies are in a process of transition; while the composition of trade of some countries is still dominated by exports of raw materials—chiefly plantation and mining products—others have made headway with exports of manufactures.

A distinguished guest observed with regard to the balance of trade between colonial and metropolitan countries that we should consider it both in its quantitative and qualitative aspect. After all world trade should balance at a high level if either national or international economies are to be maintained. The present trend in the flow of trade between colonial and metropolitan countries was the familiar exchange of primary products from the former to semi-manufactures and manufactures from the latter. A qualitative balancing of this trade did not promote the interest of the colonial country at all. The crux of the matter was the value differential of primary products and manufactures in international exchange. In proportion to the value of the industrial products bought by the colonial countries they did not get proper value for the primary products they had to export in exchange. This adverse terms of trade for colonial economies depressed their incomes and led to lower standards of life. Therefore the problem was to make trade rational and balanced in composition by diversifying the cate-

gories of export from colonial economies so as to include semi-manufactures and manufactures as well.

A delegate for India requested the delegates of the various countries to give the Group an idea of the features of trade and production associated with the transition from colonial to national economy in their respective countries. In the matter of trade he wished to know the personnel in the organisation of foreign trade—whether trade was handled by non-national firms. This had a very significant relation to the profits of a colonial economy, to the returns primary producers got for the exports of their products. The finance of foreign trade, the handling and transport of goods and their insurance are important parts of the machinery of foreign trade and it was important to know whether these were still being manned by foreigners, even though countries might be emerging from colonial to national economy. India for example was fast outgrowing its colonial status, but the organisation of foreign trade was still largely in the hands of non-nationals. The delegate requested information on the plans, if any, that were being formulated in colonial countries to elevate them from predominantly agricultural to industrial societies. What were the direct as well as the indirect obstacles in the way of industrialisation? Has political freedom resulted in economic betterment? What are the controls which can be exercised in those countries that are politically free to do so? The other parts of Asia were looking to China to see what measures she will adopt regarding such fostering of national economies. A distinguished guest added another question—whether there was actually a threat of economic exploitation of any kind from the United States in Asia.

A delegate for China said in reply that although China was politically independent and had a national economy as well, she had not yet become as powerful a force as the leading Western nations. At the same time China did not expect to dominate or exercise undue leadership in Asia. There was no question of leadership in Asia. They were all equal. If the United States made a loan and expected the fulfillment of certain conditions before lending, it was neither irregular nor a threat. The United States being a business country naturally had the business instinct of reducing the risk to the minimum before making an investment. Anyway China

was not a pawn in the hands of any country either economically or politically.

A delegate for Palestine Jews observed that the question about any economy was whether it belonged to the people as a whole or only to a handful. It was as much a question of exploitation by local capitalists as that of domination by foreign capital. In Palestine the co-operative movement had made steady progress and so was foreign trade being manned for the benefit of the people. The country which seeks liberation from foreign domination, said the delegate, should also get liberated from the domination of its own capitalism.

A delegate for Burma said that the Burmese were a young and economically backward nation. The country was not lacking in natural resources like forest and water power, of which great reserves exist, but in the necessary capital for the utilisation of these. Burma was looking to India, Great Britain and the United States in this regard, but was a little apprehensive whether she would revert to the old economy in which foreign capital preponderated. Burma wanted productive equipment to process her raw materials into semi-finished products and manufactures for which they could expect better terms in international exchange. Burmese trade with other countries would be on a complementary footing in both export and import. The West had totally failed in its mission, said the delegate, and we ought to think more in terms of Asia and depend more on the countries of this continent. He proposed that we should concentrate upon a common plan for the general economic development of Asia as a whole and southeast Asia in particular.

The Chairman describing the conditions in Ceylon said that at the moment trade was partly in British and partly in Indian hands. There was a state bank with the Government having a controlling interest in it. This had now become the leading bank in Ceylon. Apart from this there were agricultural, industrial and mortgage banks to meet the special needs of the various sectors of the economy. Ceylon's co-operative movement was probably the best in the East. There were both consumers' and producers' societies. Societies for handling imports and distribution were being established. This was loosening the stranglehold of foreign capital

on trade. One of Ceylon's main difficulties was that the import and export houses were run by foreigners. The Government of Ceylon was also contemplating the starting of shipping services on a small scale. The production structure of Ceylon is uneven, he said, and confined to a few export commodities of agricultural origin like tea, rubber and coconut. Rice is the staple food, but Ceylon has been dependent in the past on Burma for its supplies. Efforts are now being made to step up Ceylon's output of rice by extensions to the irrigation system of the country. As regards industrialisation, he felt it was necessary to go by economic concepts rather than on sentiment. Referring to the question raised earlier regarding regional economic co-operation the Chairman observed that in our own interests and as far as was reasonable and possible, we should create an economic bloc of southeast Asia or of Asia. The trade balance could be adjusted within Asia itself. The heavy and basic industries for example could be established in India and the products supplied to the other Asian countries. The same was true of primary products too. In the matter of capital investment it was necessary to proceed cautiously where fresh capital was concerned, because one form of the new imperialism was, as the United States have it, to lend large sums of money and thereby acquire a certain influence and control over the borrowing countries. In programmes of industrial development the countries of Asia should collaborate to determine the degree and nature of the industrialisation we should have.

The observer for the India Institute said that if we wanted to raise the standard of life of the greater part of the world's population there was no way except through industrialisation. And for industrialisation in the Asian continent we need to find capital goods from the Western industrial countries. They would supply us productive equipment only in return for the requirements of their own economies. "If you want machinery from Switzerland," said the observer, "you must export oil to that country." He proceeded to say, "Asia cannot industrialise itself except in co-operation with the rest of the world. I cannot discover the frontier that divides Asia from Europe. We must guard against isolationism. We have suffered from racial discrimination and the dominance of Western imperialists for so long that we are likely to jump into the greater danger of forming economic blocs. As regards the danger of domination by indigenous capitalists, let it not be forgotten that there is no such possibility except in alliance with imperialism.

The break with imperialism must be complete ; there is no half way house."

The Chairman thereupon explained that he was aware of the dangers inherent in the creation of an economic bloc and it was not his intention to create the impression that he was in favour of it.

A distinguished guest replied however that the dangers of an economic bloc had been rather exaggerated by the observer for the India Institute. The bloc may be merely for certain co-operative purposes and participated by countries that have common problems. A borrowers' council for the various countries of southeast Asia might be usefully discussed.

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A delegate for India enumerated the points which he said should be stressed in a report on problems of transition from colonial to national economy. More stress should be placed, he said, on the extremely low standard of life in colonial countries which was indeed their outstanding feature. Secondly in the transition the question of equitable distribution should receive the attention that is its due and stress on mere production alone is not enough. Production and distribution were processes that required simultaneous tackling. Thirdly we should not lay too much importance on the export of colonial production to other countries. Dependence on the internal market itself by raising the standard of living was preferable to dependence on the export market. A new problem that had cropped up in colonial economies was the re-alignment which foreign investment was seeking with indigenous capital. Foreigners had begun to apprehend that in countries like India which were on the road to complete freedom foreign capital might no longer enjoy its wonted freedom to develop itself. Therefore, fourthly, the foreign capitalist in colonial countries was likely to make common cause with the indigenous capitalist and continue to be a business partner in these countries. In India such a tendency was already discernible.

Another delegate for India next took up the subject of currency and public finance in the transition. The broad features and aims of currency in a colonial economy, he said, are that the entire

monetary system in the latter is dominated by the needs of the metropolitan country—the country having to trade with the colonies and invest capital therein. The currency system is governed by the need to keep trade and investment on a basis considered suitable to the metropolitan country. Fixity of the rate of exchange between the currency of the colony and that of the metropolitan country is therefore the fundamental aim. The second is that there should be every year a sufficient export surplus created in order that the metropolitan country which has invested its funds in the colonies may be able to recover interest and capital without any loss of income. When there is inflation or deflation in the metropolitan country we have a magnification of these effects in the concerned colony or colonial economy. In the case of an inflationary spiral in the former, the latter suffer worse inflation arising out of the fact that their currency systems instead of being counter-cyclical, magnify the depression. This is not all. In the terms of trade the monetary system works unfavourably to the colonial country. Under conditions of slump the terms of trade deteriorate for the colonial economy and as the currency system is not one permitting of manipulation like devaluation, the effects of the slump are only intensified and not retarded. The formulation of suitable monetary and trade policies in colonial economies in such a complex situation is not easy, said the delegate. Complete political independence of a country is not always a guarantee of effective action in these spheres, for such freedom cannot altogether do away with the complicated and technical relationships that exist between countries as a consequence of trade and investment. But it should be possible for a colonial economy to have a re-statement of the aims of the transition to national economy. The fundamental aim should of course be the stabilisation of income. Every government should be required to state this unambiguously. Secondly, governments should agree to control monetary arrangements in such a manner that the terms of trade for the colonies are as fair and just as possible. Thirdly, the balance of payments should not be the only criterion. Furthermore there should be no fixity of exchange rates which should be adjustable enough to maintain stable price levels and high income levels. Fourthly, when a colony is faced with an adverse balance of payments, it should be extended the benefit of a waiver in respect of its interest and allied obligations. That is, if in any year or a period of years a colony or colonial economy finds itself unable to pay interest charges to the metro-

politan country on the latter's investments in the former, for that year or period of years the metropolitan country should waive its claim on the colony or colonial economy.

Public finance in a colonial economy has also some distinctly undesirable features, continued the delegate. The tax system there is regressive, considerably dependent as it is upon indirect taxation. The metropolitan country invariably fails to raise enough revenues and consequently cannot maintain public expenditure at a high level. Furthermore the structure of public finance is itself archaic. The expenditure is lopsided and ill balanced. Under a system where production is organised by a few and the vast majority are wage earners, inequality of incomes is inevitable and the tax system is by no means calculated to reduce it. Correctives to this state of affairs lay in the direction of making the tax system more progressive, increasing the level of public expenditure, and making expenditure and public debt counter-cyclical. When there is a reduction in the extent as well as intensity of economic activity and income levels are low, or when such trends are threatened, the state should step up the level of expenditure by deficit budgeting and borrowing.

A delegate for Ceylon observed that in most Asian countries there was considerable disparity between the internal and external price-cost structures. The internal price-cost structure was very much inflated and threatened to create a fundamental disequilibrium in the balance of payments of these countries. In several countries like India and Ceylon this condition was tackled with deflationary measures though the possibility of devaluation was not ruled out. The main reasons for this have been that the production structure was being sustained by high price levels owing to war finance, and inflation, while enriching certain classes, caused suffering to various others. In the long run, said the delegate, currency policy must subserve a general economic plan of the country. As such plans in Asian countries are as yet vaguely formulated our currency plans during the transition must also remain rather fluid. One thing, however, was certain and that is that rigid exchange stability cannot any longer be accepted as the objective of currency policy. At the same time stabilisation of national incomes may not be a proper ideal to adopt in the matter of monetary policy. Relative income rather than the whole of the

national income needed to be stabilised if stabilisation of income there must be.

A delegate for Indonesia said that the Indonesian Republic had ceased to recognise the Dutch currency as legal tender. The Republic had issued its own currency which, however, was now functioning under two handicaps. First, the new monetary unit had as yet no international recognition. Second, the Dutch blockade was pressing heavily against the currency system. The Republic had to issue bank notes to finance estate expenses but the products could not be exported on account of the blockade. The present outlay was something like 15 million Republican guilders and if the blockade will not be broken the country was facing inflation. The solution seemed to be that the neighbouring countries should establish trade relations with the Republic in spite of the blockade so that Indonesia could clear the exportable surplus.

A delegate for Azerbaijan said that the financial system of a country is obviously dependent on the economic system obtaining in it. The Soviet financial system was thus a reflection of the Soviet economic system. The principles of this system are well known, said the delegate, and there is no scope for the intervention of foreign capital in Soviet finance. The financial system is directed to give help to the development of industry. It is a unified system for the entire Union. In spite of World War II Soviet finance was still balancing at a high level, and full employment was being maintained.

THE SINGAPORE DELEGATE

Another Indian delegate observed that the public finance of a country really reflected its economic status which in turn determines its place in the stage of transition from colonial to national economy. It is inevitable that the tax system has got to be largely indirect and therefore regressive. In a colonial economy those who derive large incomes are usually the foreign entrepreneurs with whom are linked some indigenous elements in the exploitation of the local economy. So long as this foreign element had effective economic power it was in its interest to keep the incidence of taxation on entrepreneurs as low as possible. It is thus possible to say, said the delegate, that the more progressive or the less regressive the tax system of a country, the more it has advanced from the colonial to the national status. In India the progressive

part of the tax structure is much greater today than it was before. The two world wars have been largely responsible for stepping up the incidence of taxation on the upper classes of the country. It was necessary to remember, he said, that the tax system of a colonial economy was not so much a positive factor in the transition itself as an indication of the status of the economy.

The delegate for Palestine Jews said that in the Middle East there was no income tax owing to an unwillingness to carry out such legislation which was considered far reaching. However, the pressure of public finance led Turkey to adopt the income tax during the war. The tax was introduced to Palestine in 1942. The incidence of the tax here is according to the communities. The Jews pay £20 per head on total income. The other communities pay £6 per head. The introduction of progressive systems of taxation in such countries would have to wait until the general economic and social conditions improve.

The Chairman describing the system of public revenue and expenditure in Ceylon observed that the country suffered from a general insecurity of the financial position. A considerable part of Ceylon's revenue was derived from such direct sources of taxation as the income tax, death duties and the excess profits tax. During the war years high expenditure corresponded with higher incomes in the community, but on the return of normal conditions expenditure seemed to remain high while income was steadily dropping. The increase of expenditure on the public services was particularly marked. There was no tendency for it to decrease. There was also the fact, said the Chairman, that in the transition from a colonial to national economy the demand for expenditure on unproductive services was insistent. Furthermore, various forms of social insurance had to be financed. In Ceylon education was free from the kindergarten to the university stage. During the past decade educational expenditure has multiplied by four to five times. Outlay on the social services no doubt contributed indirectly to the national wealth by improving the moral and material condition of the population, but the increase in the aggregate national income not being immediate Ceylon looked like facing national bankruptcy if measures to increase national wealth were not quickly put through. The gap between revenue and expenditure in Ceylon was widening year by year, but the country's credit in the local as

well as international money market was high. The present public debt of Ceylon was by no means excessive. The entire national debt amounted roughly to about one year's revenue of the country. Ceylon hoped to raise loans to the fullest extent possible.

A distinguished guest said that we should be careful not to over-do the relative judgement on direct and indirect taxation. After all, he said, a tax is to be judged not on the fact whether it is direct or indirect but on its incidence and burden on the various sections of the community. We had been brought up in the belief that direct taxation is the best form of taxation and that indirect taxation hits the poor man somehow or the other. The foreigners were naturally attracted to the indirect system because it enabled them to raise moneys without themselves having actually to bear its incidence. In the present era of independence our attitude towards these systems should be more balanced. It was not necessary, he said, to balance a national economy year after year. It should be enough if a budget were balanced over a reasonable period of three to five years. We should devote more attention to this aspect of public finance because by straining the financial structure of a country, by attempting to balance the budget year by year, you do more harm than good to its economy.

A delegate for Burma said that the economy of countries depending upon a few primary products like rice and rubber was indeed precarious for two reasons, first because economic welfare keeps on fluctuating with the prices of these products and secondly because even if their prices were stabilised they are bound to be relatively low, thus causing a more or less permanent disparity in the standard of living in comparison with industrial communities. Even if agriculture were made more productive, living standards might continue to be depressed because by the very nature of the industry it was difficult to bring about changes in it as quickly as in manufacture. The maintenance of buffer stocks of agricultural products on an international basis should help to even out violent price fluctuations. There is also a solution in the direction of diverting the surplus agricultural population in certain countries to industry without fear of causing diminution in food production. The delegate then referred to the economic relations that should subsist between primary producing and industrial countries if both their economies should be balanced at a high level of productivity and exchange. If industrially advanced countries tried to take advantage

of the terms of exchange with the primary producing regions, output in the latter might reduce in the long run and depress the economy of the former as well. Industrial countries should therefore be concerned not only with stable production conditions in agricultural economies but also with the distribution of the gains from trade between different countries. Distorting world economy by forcing certain countries to concentrate on primary production while others specialised in manufacturing industry would help neither to attain distributive justice.

An Indian delegate said that though they were not thinking in terms of an Asian economic bloc it was necessary to evolve some co-operative machinery to discuss and decide the general principles according to which common problems should be solved. That most Asian countries were borrowers from the metropolitan countries made such collaboration all the more necessary. Another Indian delegate added that we have to consider the maintenance of a balance between agriculture and industry not only in one country but within a region. They would have to evolve some kind of regional organisation at least for that purpose. Each country must no doubt have both manufacturing industry and agriculture, but it would be a waste of economic incentive if every country tried to achieve self-sufficiency. It would be conducive to greater confidence and security in Asia if such a regional economic balance could be evolved. The desire for self-sufficiency springs to some extent from political insecurity. Economic balance should therefore be based on political confidence and mutual friendliness. However, it is doubtful if a private enterprise economy can work to secure the economic balance we have in mind for the Asian region. Industry might have to be controlled by governments. This leads us to planning within a country, planning in a region and international planning.

Group C met in plenary session for Topics IV and V on 29 March 1947. Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint (Burma) was elected to the Chair. Prof. D. R. Gadgil, the Rapporteur of the Round Table Group for Topic IV, presented the following report :

THE REPORT

A colonial economy can be described as an economy which has been influenced to a substantial extent by foreign nations with a view to developing it as wholly or partly complementary to their

own national economies. Though most colonial economies have a political status denoting a measure of dependence, some countries which have a fully independent political status may share in some respects the characteristics of a colonial economy because of their inability to shape independent economic policies in regard to tariffs, foreign investments, etc., and of the large part played by foreigners in important sectors of the country's economic life.

The main characteristics of a colonial economy are :

- (i) There is a lack of balance in economic development which is shown chiefly by the preponderance of primary production.
- (ii) The existence of plantations owned or controlled largely by foreigners.
- (iii) The exploitation of mineral resources is largely in foreign hands and is not made the basis of industrial development.
- (iv) The export trade consists chiefly of a small number of primary products, the prices obtained for which are unduly depressed.
- (v) The visible balance of trade is favourable because of the investment of foreign capital and of dependence on foreign banking, shipping, insurance, etc. The foreign trade is chiefly controlled by foreigners.
- (vi) The artisan and handicraft industries survive on a large scale and remain in a stagnant condition.
- (vii) Manufacturing industry is confined to limited sectors and is largely dominated by foreigners.
- (viii) There is a general lack of integration in economic development and this is reflected in the stratification in the field of economic activity and, in many instances, in the existence of 'plural' societies.
- (ix) There is a tendency towards undue centralisation in administration and taxation.

Every colonial economy does not necessarily exhibit all these characteristics though a majority of them are common to almost

all colonial economies. An invariable feature of all these economies is the extremely low standard of living of the people.

In order to bring about a transition from a colonial to a national economy it is necessary that the state should be able to free itself of the dominance of foreign political influence and of foreign capital and personnel. This is largely a political problem.

The development of national economies will lead to their functioning as independent and autonomous units. It is generally agreed that the aim of a national economy will be to attain a balanced structure. Its policies should be guided by broad-based social objectives and it should largely concern itself with the raising of the general standard of living. In the pursuit of these objectives the new national economies would not prejudice the growth of international economic co-operation.

The policies to be pursued by national economies for the attainment of their objectives would generally comprise :

- (i) A diversification and modernisation of agricultural production.
- (ii) Improvement in the technique and organisation of artisan and handicraft industry.
- (iii) The development of co-operative organisations especially in relation to agriculture, small-scale industry and internal trade.
- (iv) The development of manufacturing industry specially related to internal resources and opportunities.
- (v) The development of indigenous credit organisations serving the needs of commerce, industry and agriculture ; development of indigenous insurance, shipping and foreign trade organisations.
- (vi) Assurance of security to the people by such means as the stabilisation of prices, minimum wage legislation, establishment and extension of social services (education, health, etc.) provided by the state, and of social insurance.

- (vii) The development of an efficient and progressive system of local self-government.

Some of the difficulties that might arise during the transition and would need to be dealt with by appropriate measures are :

- (i) Diversification of agriculture may mean the breakup of plantations and large landed estates where they now exist. Everywhere there might be a growth of small peasant economies. This might lead to an increase in the importance of subsistence farming. The desire to be free of dependence on imports of food may further encourage production of cereal crops. All this may lead to, at least in the initial period, to a diminution of the surplus of commercial crops available for exports or as basis for industrialisation.
- (ii) The development of manufacturing industry may have to be specially stimulated or protected by the state. Pursuance of this policy on a large scale may involve a heavy burden on the general consumer and may retard the improvement in the standard of living. A rapid development of manufacturing industry may lead to a sudden disintegration of artisan industry and add to the extent of unemployment. Because of the existence of a stratified social structure the development of manufacturing industry might lead to the concentration of economic power in the hands of small groups.
- (iii) The initial poverty of the economies may make it difficult to achieve an immediate increase in the general standard of living of the people while making available resources for carrying out a large-scale development programme. Stern and appropriate measures to meet this situation are called for.
- (iv) The backwardness in education and paucity of opportunities for training may lead to a chronic shortage of trained personnel in the initial stages.

- (v) The social policy of the state may require large increase in governmental expenditure. This could be met only by increasing the incidence of direct taxation and making it progressive, if the standard of living of the people is not to be affected.
- (vi) Particular economic measures which might be thought necessary to implement national economic policies may conflict with the obligations arising out of the membership of various international bodies, such as the International Monetary Fund, International Trade Organisation etc.
- (vii) As long as a new international order is not fully established, the policies of individual units will be largely influenced by considerations of security. This may necessitate large or small modifications of development programmes.

While the development of each national economy will proceed according to its own plan and as an autonomous unit, concerted and co-operative action may help to overcome some of the difficulties encountered by all :

- (i) There should be exchange of information relating to the terms and conditions of foreign borrowing.
- (ii) While each political unit will have to seek a balanced structure within itself, efforts should be made to develop co-operation and understanding in particular regions for the planning of mutually advantageous development programmes.
- (iii) Steps in concert should be taken in particular regions for implementing ideas or policies sponsored by international organisations.
- (iv) Exchange of ideas should take place among Asian countries for developing in concert economic policies to be placed before international organisations.

DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT

Mr. K. M. Panikkar (delegate, India) opening the discussion on the report observed that it was mainly descriptive of what might

be called the colonial economy of today and the transition foreseen did not seem to deal with some major problems that every colonial economy had necessarily to deal with. These were the preponderance of foreign control in business and trade, and the utilisation of foreign capital in the colony. The essential point, he said, was how to liquidate the large foreign establishments in colonial countries. If liquidation were not contemplated, then under what terms of national control did we propose to permit them to function so that in due course they might be assimilated into the national economic structure? If it was inconceivable that in colonies and colonial economies foreign interests should be acquired outright or state control extended to such enterprises as plantations, mining, shipping and banking—the foreign control of which could strangle the national economy, what was the method suggested to bring these enterprises under suitable control? Secondly, it was also necessary to lay down the conditions under which it will be desirable or possible for countries emerging from a colonial to national economy to utilise foreign capital. What is precisely our choice, asked Mr. Panikkar. Do we want that instead of capital assets being wasted in the process of exploitation of minerals a certain percentage of the revenues from such exploitation should be utilised for conserving the national asset? Do we like that a certain percentage of the revenues from foreign capital investment should be expended on social services? It did not seem that the report had covered these points.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (delegate, Ceylon) said that he appreciated the importance of the points raised by Mr. Panikkar, but the topic under discussion was only one of the three topics in Group C. Industries, agriculture and labour problems were being discussed separately and there might be much in the reports on those subjects relevant to the problems of transition as well. In fact detailed reference to many points was not made in this report because they would be covered more thoroughly in the report on agricultural reconstruction and industrial development. The co-operative movement and the development of indigenous credit organisations were, for example, dealt with in that report.

A delegate for Burma, however, supported Mr. Panikkar's statement and added that the absence in the Rapporteur's report of concrete proposals regarding foreign capital in colonial economies was probably due to a reluctance to face a thorny problem. A substan-

tial amount of foreign capital in the southeast Asia region came from the neighbouring countries and it seemed to him that the evasion of the problem in the report was rather due to considerations of tact. But the real issue had not been evaded; for, fundamental economic conflict between countries arose not because of any conflict between the masses of the people in different countries but because particular groups of one country dominated other countries. Surely it is the duty of the parent country, said the delegate, to take a larger view of things and to make concrete suggestions to deal with economic domination, past, present or future.

Mrs. H. Soebandryo (delegate, Indonesia) supported this plea and said that they expected the Conference to indicate the best manner in which the transition from colonial to national economic status could be effected. It was necessary to do this, she said, in addition to contributing to social science by academic discussion. The experiences of Indonesia were typical of the difficulties experienced by a colonial country in transforming itself into a national economy. The mere formulation of plans by colonial governments did not mean the realisation of the transition. That the studies of the Group would be sent to governments with a recommendation was of little consequence because only such countries as are sufficiently independent will profit by such schemes and even in their case success would not be easily attainable without adequate co-operation between all Asian countries. Such co-operation was also inevitably political in nature. If colonialism must go politics could not be avoided altogether. The question was whether the countries of Asia would rest content with a mere projection of schemes or whether they would collaborate to practise them so that the transition might actually be effected.

The Chairman at this stage pointed out that the position should not be obscured by an excess of enthusiasm. It is necessary to look at the picture as a whole, he said, and such a picture was still in the process of emergence. It may not be relevant to criticise prematurely. Constructive criticism was of course welcome and was indeed what was wanted. The adoption of the report under discussion could not be expected to usher startling changes in Asian countries. Perhaps a permanent body would examine and follow up the report as well as the observations made therein. The Asian Relations Conference was not the end but just the beginning.

Prof. Humayun Kabir (delegate, India) said that the problem of transition from colonial to national economy was really political. And if there is to be a transition what is it that we want to do precisely ? Without foreign capital we cannot develop the resources of colonies and it was a pertinent question to ask what the function of foreign investment was going to be in future. The capital requirements of Asian countries could be met either by borrowing or by depressing the existing standards of living. No one of course would suggest the latter, and if borrow we must, then the conditions of such borrowing constitute really the crucial issue. The net profit on investment in colonies is a kind of co-efficient of exploitation and what control are we imposing on this co-efficient ? It might be more satisfactory, said Mr. Kabir, if the report made mention also of control of profits and the maintenance of minimum standards of living—two safeguards under which foreign capital would be permitted to function in colonies and colonial economies.

Mrs. Renuka Ray (delegate, India) said that though the points raised by Mr. Panikkar and Prof. Kabir were very pertinent to the subject under discussion, it was well worth waiting for the reports on the other topics of Group C. In the report on agricultural reconstruction and industrial development for example, it had been suggested that there should be state control of foreign capital. There was no doubt that they were all of one mind regarding preventing the old colonialism giving place to the new which would certainly result if we were not careful about the ways and means of foreign investment in our countries in future.

A suggestion was made at this stage that the reports of all the topics under Group C should be taken up for consideration together, whereupon the Rapporteur, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, explained that the topic under discussion had been separated from the others in the Group and therefore only so much of the discussion as directly pertained to this topic should be brought under the purview of its report. If in the Group discussions there was no consensus of opinion in favour of large or striking programmes the report could not reflect them ; but if apart from the Group opinion, which the report avowedly reflected, the plenary session wanted to add certain ideas there was not the slightest objection. Only, they could not be called the ideas of the Group. After a good deal of discussion the Group was, by consensus of opinion, of the view that the

immediate possibility was no more than an exchange of ideas among the various countries.

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan (delegate, India) said that although the subject of economics is one and practically indivisible it has been found necessary to divide it into parts for purposes of convenience in treatment. The subject of transition from colonial to national economy was gone into in detail and there were certain issues in the process of transition which were different from others. The points raised by Mr. Panikkar had been considered by the Group and the report did make an endeavour to meet them. Throughout the report there was emphasis on foreign investment, shipping, insurance and kindred subjects. However, Dr. Lokanathan cautioned against exaggerating the importance of these reports. They were no doubt very valuable but it was wrong to imagine that all the economics was concentrated in them. He therefore pleaded that the report under discussion should be adopted without waiting for the reports on the other topics of the Group.

On the recommendation of the Chairman the plenary session then adopted the Rapporteur's report on Topic IV.

TOPIC V. AGRICULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Chairman of the Round Table for Topic V was Mr. David Hacohen (delegate for Palestine Jews); Vice-Chairman. Bijaya Shum Shere Jung Bahadur (delegate, Nepal); and Rapporteur, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao (delegate, India).

DISCUSSION

The Chairman invited a survey of agricultural and industrial problems in their respective countries from the delegates assembled in the Group. The delegate for Afghanistan said that owing to the nature of the country agriculture was not so extensive in Afghanistan, nor much advanced. In the valleys and the lower tracts agricultural operations were difficult. Some irrigation works have been constructed. Cotton and beet root are the chief agricultural products. In industry there are some textile and sugar mills and in trade Afghanistan is well known for its exports of skins.

A delegate for Azerbaijan describing the conditions in his country said that before the Revolution agriculture was primitive in Azerbaijan and lands and irrigation were concentrated in the hands of small groups of landlords. The extension of irrigation facilities and the mechanisation of agriculture are the two important features of the post-Revolution agrarian economy in Soviet Russia. There is hardly a single village which does not have a machine tractor station. A single irrigation network serves over 100,000 acres of land. Cotton and wheat are the chief agricultural products. An important feature of collective agriculture in Azerbaijan is the liquidation of rural debt. The Government, on the other hand, extends assistance to peasants to enable them both to extend the area of cultivation and to adopt intensive farming methods. The latter is mainly achieved by the machinery supplied by the state. Collective farming had on the whole greatly reduced the backwardness of the country's peasantry.

The observer for Bhutan said that his country being mountainous only a small fraction of the land area was cultivable. The chief agricultural products are wheat, barley and rice, and their cultivation is confined to the valleys. Methods of cultivation were of course primitive with not even modern implements to employ.

A delegate for Burma said that Burma was not only an agricultural country but the bulk of the income of the Burmese people was derived from one agricultural product, namely, rice. The rice industry in Burma grew upon British enterprise. When the industry declined after World War I owing to shrinkage in exports, British firms engaged in the industry stopped buying rice as well as extending capital facilities to Burmese farmers. The 'Chettians' from south India stepped into the void thus created in the rice trade. But the price the Burmese farmer had to pay for credit facilities from the Chettiar bankers was exorbitant. The interest charged by them ranged sometimes from as much as 28 per cent to 36 per cent, and this often at compound interest. The whole of the rice export trade was concentrated before the war in Indian, British and to a small extent Chinese hands. By 1938 fifty per cent of agricultural lands in southern Burma had changed into foreign possession. The damage inflicted by the war on the rice lands of Burma was just enormous. In a normal year

Burma used to export about 3·5 million tons of rice but now the export capacity had dwindled to hardly a million tons per annum. The delegate continued that there were practical difficulties in the way of mechanising agriculture in Burma. Monsoon cultivation which was the widely prevalent system prevented the use of heavy machinery. And the farmer was too poor to afford harvesting machines. Again, for over a century the Burmese peasant has been tilling his land without the use of fertilisers and now agriculture in Burma has reached a stage when increase in output is frankly impossible without the help of fertilisers. The survival of the rice industry in Burma depended upon two things ; first, the Government should undertake manufacture of fertilisers on a large scale, and secondly, the Burmese should return to the picture and handle the rice export trade. Among commercial crops Burma is at the moment growing short-staple cotton but was anxious to grow the long-staple variety too. They must undertake research to explore the possibilities of this. In industry Burma was self-sufficient in sugar production before the war and nearly self-sufficient in the match industry, but these industries were not enough to say that Burma was industrialised. In industry also foreign capital predominated. The foreign trade of Burma was lopsided. In return for the import of a large volume of consumer goods Burma could export nothing but rice. How long can any economy survive on foreign subsidies, asked the delegate. The only remedy for the rehabilitation of Burmese economy today is to increase production both industrially and agriculturally with the help of research workers and technicians with special knowledge of agricultural methods from the neighbouring countries. The rehabilitation of Burma was important for the whole of the south-east Asia region. In reply to enquiries from members of the Group the Burmese delegate said that rice was an annual crop in Burma. Before the war lands used to be owned by farmers also but subsequent to 1930 they became transferred to money lenders who thus automatically became land owners with the erstwhile farmers working under them as tenants. Although Burma was getting three times the pre-war price for its rice the Burmese were paying ten times the average price for the consumer goods they imported.

The delegate for Cochin China said that in his country the small land holder predominated. Cochin China had an exportable

surplus of 1·5 million tons of rice per annum and an equal quantity was consumed locally. Increased productivity during the past fifty years was mainly due to extension of irrigation. In recent years there had been a fall in exports owing to disturbed political conditions in the country but local consumption was being maintained. The present problem of agriculture in Cochin China was to bring as much acreage as possible under food grain cultivation.

A delegate for Ceylon observed that Ceylonese agriculture falls into two categories, the plantations and peasant agriculture. The chief plantation crops are tea, rubber and coconut and the most important product of peasant agriculture is rice. The plantation crops are all export crops. Tea among them is a foreign enterprise, 90 per cent of the capital in the tea industry being British. Roughly half the rubber plantations are owned by indigenous planters while coconut is almost entirely in the hands of the Ceylonese. One-third of the entire wealth of the country is derived from tea, said the delegate. In peasant cultivation the holdings are in most cases very small and jointly held. The system of joint ownership that prevails is peculiar to Ceylon because it is rotational. While half a dozen families might own a plot of land they enjoy the product, not at the same time year after year, but by turns. This system had proved rather disastrous because each family tended to sink as little capital as possible in the land but tried to get out of it as much as possible all the same. Families took to cultivation of other plots or to wage labour during years when they did not cultivate their own lands. The Government was trying to demonstrate modern and mechanical methods of cultivation but naturally it takes time for these to filter down to the rural areas. Colonisation of dry areas was also being tried. The Government was buying up some of the larger estates and distributing them among the landless peasantry.

A delegate for China said that China's main agricultural problem was to feed her population better both in quantity and quality. Rice and wheat are the chief food crops and cotton is the important commercial crop. In the export of agricultural products China was facing considerable competition in oil and tea. With regard to land ownership the policy of the Government was to buy up lands from the bigger holders and arrange a tenure under which the tenants share the cultivation with the owners.

There was not much mechanisation of agriculture in China, nor was China manufacturing agricultural machinery. In order to improve the diet of the rural population the Government was trying to increase the production of wheat and vegetables.

A delegate for India then briefly described conditions in Indian agriculture. Although large areas in different parts of the country were held by the bigger landlords, India, said the delegate, is essentially a land of small cultivators. Not only in the preponderantly landlord provinces of Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa but even in the so-called peasant proprietor provinces of the Punjab, Bombay and Madras there was considerable cultivation by tenants who do not own the lands. The main problem at the present moment was that of assuring adequate supplies of food to the people. During the war years India was obliged to supplicate various countries of the world for food grains owing to shortage of the internal output. In spite of imports the ration still did not exceed 12 ounces of cereals per adult per day. Linked to this immediate problem was that of raising the productivity per acre of land under cultivation. An increasing yield per acre would not only mean more food but an increase in the income of the agricultural population with the general rise in the standard of living that can be expected to follow it. The Government of India was aiming at improving the agricultural economy in relation to nutritional standards.

A delegate for Kazakhstan said that low as the level of agriculture was in most Asian countries, the existing systems of land tenure made development to a higher level difficult. The position in his country was different from that obtaining in other Asian countries owing largely to democratic reforms carried out in the organisation of agriculture. The land belonged to the peasants and the Government provided for mechanisation of cultivation. There are now 25,000 tractors and 12,000 harvesters in Kazakhstan alone, said the delegate, and thus about 80 per cent of the area under cultivation was fully mechanised. The delegate wished to stress the fact that if the economic independence of colonial Asian countries was to be genuine, land reform should be democratic and not formal. If it were carried out merely on a formal basis without providing all the peasantry with land it would only perpetuate the special rights and privileges of certain groups of the population.

Experience has shown, said the delegate, that privileged groups within a country will be willing to co-operate with foreign interests which, in their turn, are in need of someone inside the country under their control to rely upon. If such a thing were to happen there was the danger of economically powerful countries retaining their hold on dependent economies or of colonial economies falling into a common economic bondage. It seemed to him that depriving the feudal elements of their rights in the land and over the peasantry was the basic principle on which the solution of all agricultural progress must be based. His own country had followed this principle with success. They had left no loop-holes for non-democratic elements in their land reforms. On the applicational side Kazakhstan had recorded progress in several fields of agricultural research.

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A delegate for Malaya said that the Malayan region was the single largest rubber producing area in the world. It was a typical colonial economy with foreign capital predominating. The total acreage under rubber cultivation in Malaya is about 100,000 acres. Crude rubber is exported to the United States and other countries which turn out a variety of manufactured articles from the raw materials, to be exported back to colonial areas. Subsequent to 1910 the domiciled Malays have a chance of taking to cultivation, enabled by an enactment of the Government which protects land for them. Rice cultivation is confined to about one-seventh of the total cultivable area. The rice lands are situated mainly in northern Malaya close to the Siamese border. Malaya suffered considerably in economic prosperity when the slump in 1930 depressed rubber prices. While rubber is Malaya's leading plantation, tin mining is the country's biggest industry. Malaya is the largest producer of this raw material in the whole world. The tin mines are capitalised predominantly by the Chinese. The Chettiers from south India have also advanced capital to the Chinese entrepreneurs who operate the mines with their own staff. Iron mining is in the hands of the Japanese. Indian labour is employed in all industries in general. The other product for which Malaya is famous is cane. Pineapple cultivation is also extensive but is not done on a large estate basis. The fruit is cultivated as a cover crop to help stop soil erosion when the rains come. The pineapple

cultivation and canning industry has been profitable to quite a large section of the people in Malaya.

A delegate for Tibet said that land in Tibet was owned mostly by landlords and noblemen in big estates. Owing to the high altitude of the country rice cultivation was not possible. The chief agricultural products are barley, wheat and maize, and the staple food is barley.

A delegate for Palestine Jews described the agricultural conditions in Palestine with particular reference to the achievements of Jewish settlements there. In a short period of time, he said, much land that was in utter desolation for centuries has been brought under cultivation by the use of modern methods and aided by scientific and technological research. The reclaimed areas have been converted into rich farm lands and citrous plantations. This flourishing agriculture has also been assisted by livestock interbreeding. Credits for the expenditure involved in these programmes came through the credit co-operatives of the labour movement. Agricultural productivity and incomes had risen now in Palestine to the level of those prevailing in the advanced agricultural countries of western Europe. The combination of agricultural and industrial economies had solved many problems of fluctuating seasonal labour. The main principles on which the Jewish settlements work are national ownership of all land, direct labour—free from the exploitation of the labour of others, and co-operative marketing which has practically done away with the overhead costs that middlemen always cause to enhance. The settlements are purely voluntary said the delegate. Ownership of land and industry is common and the needs of the individual are met by the community without reference to his family status, etc. However, though the main income of a family is derived from collective cultivation, individual families own separate farms. In reply to questions the delegate said that the cost of a fully equipped farm is approximately £1,200. The average size of a farm is 15 acres, about 6 acres of which was ordinarily under irrigation. The total area under agricultural settlements in Palestine is about 200,000 acres and the number of farmers engaged on them is about 50,000. It is possible, continued the delegate, that the success of the scheme is largely due to the fact that the participants in it are literate. Moreover, the conditions described refer only to the

Jewish sector in Palestine. The delegate then gave the following figures of per capita consumption of manufactured goods in some countries (in dollars): United States, 254; United Kingdom, 112; the British Dominions, 164; some less industrialised countries, 80; Japan, 28; Turkey, 10; India, China, 3; and Palestine, 30. He also gave figures of productivity per male worker as follows (in dollars): New Zealand, 2,400; Australia, 1,524; Argentina, 1,100; United States, 661; England, 500; Holland, 579; Japan, India, 120; China, 46; countries of the Middle East, Egypt, 90. There is a correlation, he said, between industrial productivity and the consumption of industrial output. There is also a correlation between a high level of national income and vocational instruction, and a low level of income where the bulk of the population is agricultural. The delegate recommended a rational approach to the problems of agricultural reconstruction and industrial development in view of the transformation society had undergone. The Turkish approach of the state identifying itself to a large extent with programmes of reconstruction had been generally successful in the Middle East. The irrigation of colonisation schemes of the Sudan was also a case in point.

A distinguished guest said that on the question of mass poverty the problem, to his mind, was not of population pressure but of balance of trade. By exporting her produce India had believed in the past that she had a favourable balance of trade but the result was that the position of the small cultivators had not received the attention it deserved. In the matter of agricultural efficiency conditions were more or less the same throughout southeast Asia, but the cultivator himself was a very efficient unit. The responsibility for quickly redeeming the ravages of war and famine was largely upon him. Mechanisation had to proceed cautiously with due regard to the psychology of the cultivator. In the matter of co-operative agricultural credit the yield on capital in India was not more than 4 to 5 per cent while the peasant had to borrow money at 6 per cent or more. The remedy lay in co-operative banks being organised under governmental auspices and money lent at low rates of interest.

An observer for Ceylon said that in Ceylon all valuable land was covered by foreign capital investment and fallow land received nobody's attention. The Government had therefore introduced

legislation to prevent capital alienation of land. It was also engaged in taking over certain lands in villages and settling people on them. A national bank run by the Government had been established which lends money at 5 to 6 per cent rate of interest as against the 18 to 20 per cent charged by private moneylenders. He suggested extension of similar credit facilities in other Asian countries as well as provision of social services to the rural classes as they had done in Ceylon.

A delegate for India observed that the question of whether there should be co-operative farming or collectivisation was a matter not for economists but for the citizens themselves as factors other than economic entered into the question. Each country should decide on the type of agricultural organisation most suited to it. The experience of India in the field of the co-operative movement in the last few years was somewhat disappointing. What should be aimed at, said the delegate, is not co-operative societies for marketing or for credit but co-operative farming involving joint cultivation, management and selling. Another solution to the problem of agricultural reconstruction was to divert as many agriculturists as possible from the land and absorb them in other gainful occupations. Not a little prosperity of the agriculturists during the war was due to such diversion. Stabilisation of prices, however, could not be attained unless the demand for agricultural goods could be kept up *pari passu*. The way to stabilise agricultural prices was to take care of the stability of the general price level. Industrialisation and general economic development were the only ways to price stabilisation and effective demand. The delegate commended the efforts made in this behalf, at the international level, by the International Trade Organisation.

A distinguished guest added that though 90 per cent of the world's production and consumption of rice happens to occur in Asia it was paradoxical that when one Asian country wanted to purchase rice from another it was compelled to look to Washington. It had been proposed at the Food and Agriculture Organisation Conference some months ago that arrangements should be made for the administration of rice to be transferred to southeast Asia. He hoped that this proposal commended itself to the Group also. If this was done prices could be more economically and equitably fixed.

A delegate for Ceylon said that the particular type of the social pattern prevailing in Asian countries should be taken into consideration in programmes of agricultural reconstruction. The possibility of the agriculturist employing his spare time in cottage industry should not be lost sight of for any planning of large-scale industrialisation. Cottage industry is a field, she said, in which the traditional skill of the peasant can be easily and advantageously used. The countryside should once again be made as attractive as it was once.

A delegate for the Philippines stressed the problem of transportation and distribution. If the transport bottleneck could be tackled satisfactorily distribution of surplus to deficit areas might be easier. A delegate for India wanted to know if Asian nations felt it desirable to exchange information among themselves on food and agricultural problems even as the World Food Council created on the recommendation of the F.A.O. would exchange information on production and crop planning programmes in various countries. It had also been contemplated by the F.A.O. to set up commodity boards whose main task would be the stabilisation of the prices of the respective commodities with which they were concerned. The problem of wheat and rice prices was receiving immediate attention. Before the war, on the balance, Asia was neither exporting nor importing foodgrains, said the delegate, but during the last two years Asia had become a large importer of foodgrains. The continent could ill afford to maintain this new position if it must have a balance of payments to conserve foreign exchange for purposes of industrialisation. He suggested that it would be a very useful thing if an attempt was made by Asian countries to meet and discuss the continent's food problem.

The observer for the India Institute said that the number of landless labourers was on the increase in India on account of pressure of population and rural indebtedness. Public opinion in India was becoming more conscious of the proper rôle of the landlord. The legislative enactments of some of the popular governments in Indian provinces seeking to abolish landlordism was evidence of this. The observer agreed that production of foodgrains and agricultural raw materials should be stepped up so that Asia might have enough foreign exchange to buy capital equipment for industrialisation. He also agreed that transport was the real

bottleneck which had been exploited not only for making more profits but to perpetuate economic helotry by preventing the movement of goods. Water transport was particularly important and in addition to large merchant fleets countries should revive smaller craft.

The delegate for Azerbaijan referred again to the problems of landlordism and the landless peasantry in India. To merely recognise the existence of landless labourers was not to contribute to agricultural reconstruction. We do not propose that we should exterminate anybody, he added, but it is obviously quite necessary to carry out radical and democratic land reforms of which the delegates who represent the most progressive groups of the populations concerned should not be afraid. It was necessary to remember that the major part of the population of Asia was made up of peasants.

A distinguished guest pointed out in reply that the peasants of the Asian continent, minus the Soviet part of it, desired possession of the land for themselves, individually and in their personal capacity. What the landless labourer wanted was not state ownership but the elimination of the big land holders and transference of possession rights in the lands to himself and his heirs. It was a permanent settlement on his own plot of land that he desired and not state tenancy, nor membership of a collective farm.

The Azerbaijan delegate agreed with the above remarks and said that possession of land by the peasant masses and by nobody else was just the thing he wanted. But it is not sufficient, he added, to provide lands without creating conditions that will enable the peasant to work on them. The position of the peasantry in Russia before the Revolution was no better than the present condition of the peasantry in Asian countries. But the Revolution had not only given the land to the peasant and made him the master of it but the state continued to afford him facilities to work up his land.

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The Group then proceeded to consider problems of industrial development. It was suggested at the outset that the subject might be discussed with reference to (i) the definite plans of each Asian

country regarding industrialisation, (ii) the present position regarding control of transport, (iii) the views of Asian countries in the matter of foreign capital—the terms under which it should be secured and the restrictions, if any, that should be imposed, and (iv) the state of industrial development and the extent to which industry should be state owned.

Opening the discussion a delegate for Burma detailed the conditions that obtained in his country. Burma had the most important prerequisite of industrialisation, namely, an abundance of raw materials, though surveys on an adequate scale had not been conducted so far. However, the Burmese preferred to be mainly agricultural and only semi-industrialised. The country had coal deposits and the existence of huge bamboo forests made a paper industry possible. Even as the United States was using oat husk for producing plastic materials, Burma envisaged using the enormous quantity of rice husk in the country for developing a plastic industry. There was raw material for a glass industry too. Referring to the capital requirements of the new industrialisation plan the delegate hoped that a part of the reparations could be set apart for that purpose. He added that something should be done to end the practice of foreign firms registering themselves under limited liability in Burma and thus enjoying the tariff protection of the country to the detriment of indigenous industry. The Burmese Government was also contemplating a fillip to the existing cottage industries.

A delegate for China explained the activities of the Central Planning Board of China. It is necessary to develop small-scale industry, he said, in order to better the farm economy and to raise the standard of living. Textiles and electrical goods were the two leading manufacturing industries of China at the moment. A large paper industry would be necessary even if it be only to extend the educational facilities and reduce the present extent of illiteracy. Capital development being low in China it was inevitable that the country should resort to foreign borrowing. But China was not prepared to guarantee anything more than a business profit to the lender. He could have no economic control. China would repay such loans only by way of food and mineral exports. The Government of China was in favour of encouraging private enterprise so far as light industries were concerned, but had envisaged taking

over all the heavy industries and public utility services. They wanted to plan location too. Heavy industries should be centred in proximity to the required raw materials, and the delegate thought that other industries should centre more in rural than in urban areas. He then explained the steps which the state had taken in the direction of socialising agriculture and industry. The Government sometimes purchased and leased lands to the tenants on contracts valid for as many as fifty years in some cases. A tenant could not be ejected without his consent. In China the workers participated in industries on a co-operative basis. Not only were they stockholders themselves but they could decide the running of the various factories at the managerial level.

A delegate for the Philippines observed that during foreign sovereignty over the Islands their economic development had remained neglected. The chief agricultural products are sugar and coconut. Under American rule the trade of the country was canalised to the United States. The mechanisation of agriculture and encouragement of co-operative enterprise were part of the present programme for rehabilitating the Philippine economy from the ravages it has suffered during the war. They had asked for a loan of 500 million dollars from the U.S. Government, and including reparations. The war destroyed communication over wide areas and it would take a year to restore adequate transportation. The delegate added that the Government has been establishing corporations for industrial finance as well as for rural credit. Parity of privileges between the indigenous population and American nationals was now a big issue. Parity to exploit the natural resources of the Islands had now been granted.

A delegate for Indonesia said that his country possessed enormous resources in cinchona products, pepper and copra and substantial resources in rubber, palm oil products, tea and tin. With the establishment of the Republican Government Indonesia had formulated certain principles of economic organisation and was determined to follow these. It had been statutorily laid down that the natural resources of the country and industry affecting the lives of most people, (such as mines, water works, transport, fuel and electricity industries, and the production of certain important products like rubber and sugar) should be brought under state control. They had lost faith in economic individualism which had led to dis-

astrous results during Dutch and Japanese rule. But at the same time the entrepreneurial control they envisaged was not a fully socialist economy. They would allow foreign capital into the country but its rôle in the national economy should be constructive. Even indigenous private capital would enjoy a measure of freedom despite state controls.

A delegate for Mongolia said that after the revolution of 1921 railroads had been laid in his country, telephone and telegraph systems established, bridges and river crossings constructed and airlines organised, while before the Revolution Mongolia was only criss-crossed by caravan tracks. National wealth has increased by eight times since the Revolution, said the delegate; more goods are being produced and sold at cheap rates in order to raise the standard of living of the people. It had been laid down in the Mongolian Constitution that increase of national wealth and material welfare should be the aim of the government.

A delegate for Malaya drew attention to the fact that the transport system of the country had been evolved to suit the needs of exporting raw materials exploited by foreign enterprise in the country. Rubber and tin were produced only to be exported and not to be processed within the country itself. Even though Malaya can be self-sufficient in the matter of foodstuffs governmental policy did not encourage this to be achieved by the development of agriculture. Under Japanese occupation the agricultural economy had begun to receive some encouragement but now the position was sought to be reversed to the pre-war pattern. The result was that Malaya suffered from chronic malnutrition. The delegate preferred nationalisation of agriculture in all Asian countries and concentration during the earlier stages of industrialisation on the manufacture of agricultural machinery. If this was done Asia can produce foodstuffs not only for its own population but for the poorer sections of the populations all over the world.

A delegate for Ceylon said that in Asian countries industry's contribution to the national income was very low. In Ceylon it is only 7 per cent. The principal bottlenecks are capital and technical skill. She advocated central planning, but the planning, she said, must suit the pattern of eastern society with its emphasis on the

family. She advocated decentralisation of industry as practised in Japan.

A delegate for India traced the history of economic planning in the country since the establishment of the National Planning Committee in 1937. The work of the Committee was followed by the plan put forward by industrialists, called the Bombay Plan, and by the work, for a short period, of the planning department of the Central Government. The main difficulty in India so far as planning is concerned is the constitutional position, said the delegate, the Central Government having no real authority for industrial planning. While industry and agriculture were provincial subjects in India, the Indian States which constitute one-third of India cannot be brought under a scheme of central planning. During the life of its planning department the Central Government set out the objective of planning as being the prevention of the concentration of economic and industrial power in any particular region or class of people in India. State and private enterprises were demarcated and it was contemplated to take over from the province certain powers for the development of important industries. Broadly speaking, the idea was that the state should control the key industries and all public utility concerns. With the advent of the Interim Government planning boards had been set up which have reported, but the policy of the Government of India was bound to remain undecided on account of the political situation. On the question of India's capital requirements the board has clarified that India does not require much of foreign capital as distinguished from capital goods since she now enjoys the position of a creditor country, however temporary that advantage may be. India now enjoys a reservoir of foreign exchange to the tune of 1,200 million sterling which will be more than sufficient for her immediate requirements. India is willing to avail herself of foreign co-operation in the technical field. There would be less objection to such co-operation on reasonable terms than to foreign financial participation in industry. Plans have been formulated for many things but for various reasons they have not been put through yet. However, the Government was going forward with many schemes simultaneously.

Another delegate for India pointed out that in some of the heavy industries India had already reached a point of self-sufficiency before the war. Examples were the textile, cement and steel indus-

tries. But the position was no longer so, owing to shortages all over the world and these industries now find it difficult to meet even the home demand. Despite the fact that India had established several key industries we lacked many without which the country could not be said to be industrially well integrated. Examples of these gaps are the machine tool, defence and heavy machinery industries. The delegate added that he was unable to subscribe to the opinion expressed regarding state planning because he believed that given the right atmosphere private enterprise was in a position to advance production even as the United States had achieved the highest level of productivity in the whole world on the private enterprise system alone. He did not want India's material progress to be impeded by considerations expressed during the discussion regarding the use of foreign assistance and he thought that India must take with both hands all that she can receive from every country.

A distinguished guest emphasised transport and communication as means for improving both agriculture and industry. In most Asian countries road transport was inadequate, river transport was partly utilised and air transport was very limited. There was too much dependence on foreign shipping, too little overland inter-Asian traffic and low economic life in the interior because of limited road transport. The remedy lay in improving internal and international road, river and rail transport and in reserving coastal shipping for nationals of the countries concerned. Even in foreign trade national shipping could be encouraged. Equally backward were the Asian countries in postal, telegraph and tele-radio communications. Non-Asians dominated international tele-communications and were able to control prices of commodities here like rice, cotton and jute from such distant places as the United States. Allied to tele-communications were other important services like broadcasting, meteorology and aeronautics. To promote inter-Asian social and commercial intercourse it was necessary to have our own independent and co-ordinated services in these fields. International communications in general should be regarded not as instruments of national or world policy but as international public utility services.

The observer for the India Institute said that the desirability of foreign borrowing for Asian countries should be judged by the

conditions of particular countries. It would be wrong to consider such loans as being indispensable. Foreign loans also depend on the self-interest of the lending country. If the money were lent to private individuals in the borrowing country who have more or less the same social outlook as the lender then the economic pressure is greater. We need not say, said the observer, that the economy of Asian countries should be either socialistic or communistic. We should rather get the content of these systems.

The report of Group C, Topic V—Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development was discussed at the plenary session on 29 March 1947 which met to consider Topics IV and V. The Rapporteur for Topic V, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, observed that it had not been possible to do anything more than study the subject in its broad outline and indicate the fundamental principles which should govern policies. Matters of detail had to be omitted because within the time at its disposal it was not possible for the Group to work out cut and dried solutions. There is also a paucity, he said, of data regarding the precise scope of the problem in the various Asian countries. Dr. Rao then presented the following report :

THE REPORT

Agricultural Reconstruction

1. Basically, Asia is a predominantly agricultural continent and tillers of the soil constitute the majority of her vast population. Almost everywhere mass poverty is evident and finds conspicuous existence in the low standard of living of the agricultural classes, especially the small peasants and the landless labourers who constitute the bulk of Asian agricultural population.

2. A rapid survey of the agricultural situation in Asian countries reveals that with a few exceptions there is a great deal of similarity in the fundamental facts of their agricultural economy, particularly of the non-colonial countries. Enumerated below are some of these characteristics :

- (i) Divorce between ownership and cultivation, and the predominance of landlordism.

- (ii) The existence of plantation estates in some countries like Ceylon and Malaya which involves not only divorce between ownership and cultivation but foreign ownership of the produce of the soil. In some countries there is also the problem of foreign and absentee ownership of agricultural land.
- (iii) Low yields per acre.
- (iv) Uneconomically small and fragmented holdings.
- (v) Absence of scientific methods and mechanisation, and use of primitive implements.
- (vi) Insignificant use of fertilisers.
- (vii) Prevalence of burdensome agricultural debt.
- (viii) Small proportion of the gross value of agricultural produce accruing to the actual tiller of the soil.
- (ix) Dependence on export markets for sale of a large proportion of primary products and raw materials, and the resultant instability in agricultural prices and incomes.
- (x) Low return of exchange obtained in manufactured goods against the sale of raw materials.
- (xi) Inadequate development of resources allied to agriculture, such as those of fisheries and animal products.
- (xii) Pressure of population on land and consequent under-employment in agriculture.
- (xiii) Drain of ability from villages to towns and reluctance of urban intelligentsia to migrate to the rural areas owing to absence of conditions of living in villages comparable in attractiveness to those in urban areas.

The problem is further complicated by the devastation that has been caused by enemy occupation in a number of Asian countries and current civil unrest; this has resulted in a fall in the output of agricultural crops, especially of food crops, which, in turn, has led Asia to become a net importer of food.

3. Even a mere recital of the primitive characteristics of Asian agricultural economy is sufficient to show clearly what its problem is. It is pre-eminently a problem of raising the standard of living of the agricultural class. There could be no hope of Asia as a whole solving the problems of poverty and bettering the condition of life of the masses of its people. The conditions necessary for bringing about such a rise in the standard of living would necessarily vary in matters of detail from country to country according to their natural condition, historical development, the existing pattern of their economy and the resources open to them for utilisation for development purposes. But it is possible to pick out certain broad principles of agricultural reconstruction without the achievement of which it will be difficult to solve the problem of mass poverty in any part of Asia.

4. First among these should be mentioned the need for raising agricultural productivity. The yield per acre needs to be substantially increased by use of better seed, by more modern methods of cultivation and the use of fertilisers ; simultaneously the area under cultivation should be extended as much as possible by large-scale development schemes.

5. The capital per acre invested in land in Asia in terms of working equipment, including fertilisers, is exceedingly low and accounts in a large measure for the low yield per acre. Unless, therefore, more capital is made available to the peasants in the form of equipment, fertilisers etc., it is not possible to bring about a substantial increase in agricultural output. In view of the general poverty among the agricultural classes it is only the state which can provide the required capital to the peasantry.

6. Industrialisation is another important requirement. There is no doubt that there is a good deal of surplus labour on agricultural land in Asia as also a very substantial measure of seasonal unemployment ; unless steps are taken to draw away this surplus population from the land to industrial occupations and unless non-agricultural seasonal employment is provided, it will not be possible to increase substantially the income per person occupied in agriculture. For this purpose industrialisation and development of cottage industries affording seasonal employment are highly neces-

sary. *The need for decentralisation of factories when industrialising the countries was also emphasised.*

7. The terms of trade between agricultural and non-agricultural produce have always operated to the disadvantage of the farmer, thanks primarily to the better organisation of the manufacturing industries. As Asia is pre-eminently an agricultural continent, and largely exports raw material and primary products and imports manufactured goods from Europe and America, this problem of parity relationship between agricultural and non-agricultural prices has to be tackled in any scheme of agricultural reconstruction in Asia.

8. The prices that the farmer gets for his produce as well as the terms and the timings of his sale depend, to a large extent, upon the measure of his control over transport facilities. It is a fact that, at the moment, transport facilities as regards movement of Asian agricultural produce across national and continental frontiers is largely in the hands of non-Asians. If this is not remedied and the Asian countries be not organised to get control over transport facilities, especially shipping, it will be difficult to secure to the Asian cultivator adequate return from agricultural reconstruction.

9. There should be a substantial reduction in the share of landlords and traders, in agricultural income. As regards landlordism, the opinion was fairly general that fundamental reforms were necessary in the realm of the land tenure system, and ownership should be secured to the actual tiller of the soil. Otherwise it would be very difficult not only to ensure a fair share of national income to the peasant, but even successfully to undertake measures of agricultural reconstruction involving the co-operation of the peasantry. As regards the trader, it was felt that only a development of co-operative marketing based on mutual aid would enable the agricultural classes to get a larger share of agricultural income than at present.

10. There is also the special problem of the landless agricultural labourers who constitute the depressed class even among the generally depressed agricultural community. Their numbers are growing in many Asian countries owing to the pressure of population and the failure of agriculture to give a remunerative return.

Any scheme of agricultural reconstruction must take into special account the needs of this class. An ideal solution, of course, would be to give landless labour possession of land ; in any event, steps must be taken to ensure for them an equitable share of agricultural income.

11. Most Asian countries are conscious of the need of taking action on the lines suggested above and some of them have indeed succeeded in taking fairly effective action. Instances which stand out in the Asian countries are the collective farming units in the Asian Republics of the U.S.S.R. and the Jewish co-operative settlements in Palestine. Other countries are also formulating their plans for agricultural reconstruction and some have already taken the preliminary steps for the execution of such programmes. In fact, in many countries, measures are being taken for increasing the tenant's security of tenure, and, in some cases, also for buying up large landed estates for distribution to the tenants on easy terms of repayment of the purchase price. Some countries like India and China are linking up nutritional considerations with their crop-planning. In fact, all over Asia, emphasis at the moment is on food production ; and it is hoped that Asia will soon be in a position to cease spending her foreign exchange resources on importing food rather than on capital equipment of which she is in such bad need. Taking the problem of agricultural reconstruction as a whole, however, it is clear that countries have to choose their own methods of approach in tackling their national agricultural problems. They have to take their choice between methods such as those followed in Russia with the emphasis on collective farming, or in Turkey with the emphasis on state initiative, or in Sudan with the emphasis on public corporation management, or in Palestine with the emphasis on mutual aid and co-operation. But there is general agreement that agricultural reconstruction depends for its success, in the last resort, upon the extent to which the human factor is harnessed and its enthusiasm roused ; this cannot be done without carrying out fundamental land reforms and linking up ownership and cultivation in the same hands. At the same time, mere reform or even abolition of landlordism cannot by itself solve the agricultural problem. It is also important that, with the acquisition of land, are also created conditions which will enable the tillers of the soil to operate agriculture efficiently, obtain a good standard of living and thus maintain their independence. This cannot be done

without considerable state help and without mutual aid and co-operation among the peasantry themselves.

12. Though national action has to be the principal factor in bringing about agricultural reconstruction, there is general agreement in the view that there is a great deal of room for co-operative action among the Asian nations for solving their mutual problems of agricultural reconstruction. Among the various fields in which such action could be undertaken are :

- (i) Exchange of information and experience in regard to research, methods of cultivation, pest control, storage, co-operative movements, anti-erosion schemes, and other agricultural experiments.
- (ii) Mutual consultation on the present state of affairs with regard to the prices obtained for the raw materials and primary products exported from Asia and the possibility of getting these improved.
- (iii) Periodic exchange of information between the governments of various Asian countries on their programmes of national agricultural planning with a view to seeing how far these plans could be linked up and what mutual assistance could be made available in their implementation.
- (iv) Common counsel to be taken by Asian nations with a view to making special efforts to increase the production and utilisation of food in Asia in regard not only to the basic cereals but also to such other food items as fish, animal products, fruits, vegetables, etc. In this connection, many delegates deplored the fact that international allocation of rice was being carried on at present from Washington in spite of the fact that the bulk of the production, consumption and trade in rice takes place in Asia. It was suggested that a beginning in inter-Asian agricultural co-operation should be made by the countries located in south-east Asia, which account for 85 per cent of the world production of rice, forming a Rice Board for south-east Asia for increasing the production, bettering the distribution and stabilising the price of rice in the

region. The experience resulting from the working of such a Board could then be applied with advantage to similar schemes for other agricultural products of interest to various Asian countries.

- (v) Exchange of information and taking common counsel regarding ways and means for improving the efficiency of cottage and rural industries in Asia.
- (vi) Exchange of information and taking common counsel on the steps to be taken for making conditions of life in rural areas more attractive than they are at present in terms of health, sanitation, education and cultural amenities.

13. Finally the sentiment was unanimous that agricultural reconstruction is long overdue in Asia and that immediate steps should be taken by each individual nation to undertake the necessary measures of reconstruction without which it would be impossible to raise the standard of living of the masses of the agricultural population. The sentiment was also unanimous that in this task there is a great deal of scope for inter-Asian action in the matter of exchange of information, pooling of experience and taking of common counsel on matters of mutual concern. It was emphasised, however, that all such measures of inter-Asian co-operation should be consistent with the spirit of international co-operation and of the United Nations Organisation. It was also felt that full advantage should be taken of the facilities afforded by existing international organisations such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation in order to improve agricultural conditions in Asia.

Industrial Development

14. A survey of the industrial position in the Asian countries reveals with glaring sharpness the low measure of industrialisation which this continent has reached with, however, certain prominent exceptions such as the Asian Republics of the U.S.S.R., Turkey, parts of Palestine and parts of the Middle East. The statements which follow are, therefore, intended exclusively to depict the conditions and discuss the problems of the rest of Asia.

15. Among these Asian nations, India is the only country, barring Japan, which is industrialised to any significant extent in the Western sense, and even India has such large gaps in her industrial structure as heavy chemicals, heavy engineering and other basic and defence industries. The rest of Asia, with the exception of China, does not possess even the light industries and has to rely mainly on imports for the supply of manufactured consumers' goods. Taking Asia as a whole, it would not be incorrect to say that the continent is an exporter of raw materials and importer of finished goods. It has no shipping or automobile industry, no machinery industry, no chemical industry; it does not manufacture transport and communication equipment and indeed, inter-Asian transport and communication is almost wholly in the hands of non-Asians. Asia cannot manufacture to any significant extent modern defence equipment, nor does it even manufacture the agricultural machinery and fertilisers which are so essential for the expansion and efficiency of its dominant occupation, viz., agriculture. The industrial status of the bulk of Asia is a clear corollary of its colonial economy; and the real test of Asian independence would be the extent to which Asia is able to achieve a substantial measure of industrialisation.

16. The difficulties in the way of industrial development vary from country to country: but there are certain features which are common to all in smaller or greater measure such as the lack of trained personnel and of capital equipment. Added to these are the effects of the war and the dislocation caused to Asian economies and their balances of payment. A number of Asian countries have started formulating plans for industrial development; and most of these plans lay stress on state aid and state control of the basic and defence industries. But the plans are mostly in their preliminary stages; and difficulties of obtaining capital equipment have added to the difficulty of bringing about any immediate development.

17. Industrial development raises certain problems which are common to all Asian countries. The most important of these is the problem of capital and capital equipment. Capital equipment has to be obtained from Europe or America and it cannot be obtained except in return for exports from Asia of raw materials and primary products. The extent to which such exports can be

made is limited, particularly today as a result of the effects of the war on production in such goods in Asia, while the imports of capital equipment needed are likely to exceed the value of such exports. Except in the case of a few fortunate countries which have accumulated foreign exchange resources during the war, a certain measure of dependence on imports of foreign capital seems, therefore, inevitable. No doubt, reliance on internal finance has to be there in the case of every Asian country which wants to shed its colonial status, but there are serious limits to the extent of industrial development which can be financed in this manner. This is because, in most of these countries, the masses are very poor, have little ability to save, and are eager to see an immediate improvement in their standard of living. In the circumstances, it seems inevitable that a number of Asian countries will have to obtain substantial imports of foreign capital for carrying out their programmes of industrial development. Opinion was, however, unanimous that such imports of foreign capital should not be obtained under conditions that will result in foreign control of domestic economy, which would only lead to the emergence of the colonial economy under a new guise. It was felt, therefore, that imports of capital should be obtained by the governments of the countries concerned rather than by private interests. Thus sufficient strength could be afforded to the borrower to resist the direct and indirect domination that a lender usually exercises on the borrowing country. One delegate differed from this view and expressed the opinion that the same objective could be served by insisting that control should vest in the hands of private industrialists in the borrowing country, which will leave the control of foreign capital in national, though not governmental hands. In any case, there was unanimity on the view that great care must be taken in determining the conditions under which foreign capital is imported; and it was felt that the terms and conditions of foreign borrowing was a suitable subject for mutual consultation among the Asian countries. *Among such conditions could be considered the desirability of imposing limitations on profits and ensuring the maintenance of minimum living standards.*

18. There was also the problem of technical personnel. Some countries were sending their nationals to Europe and America for technical training but the opinion was generally expressed that it would be better if facilities for post-graduate studies and technical

training were also provided within each country. Several delegates pointed out that this was their goal and that steps were being taken in that direction in their respective countries. It appeared that here was another source of fruitful inter-Asian co-operation; with such co-operation it should be possible to establish in Asia, taking all countries together, quite a large number of post-graduate and research institutions.

19. On the subject of transport and communications in Asia, the complete domination now exercised in these fields by non-Asian nations was deplored. It was felt that without Asian countries controlling and owning various types of transport and different forms of communication, such as shipping, radio, cable, etc., it would be difficult either to attain economic independence, or develop closer mutual contacts, or enjoy a substantial share of the fruits of economic development. It was also felt that here was another fruitful avenue for inter-Asian co-operation.

20. Taking the question of industrial development as a whole, there was general agreement on the need for planning such development in each country. Much attention was devoted to the subject of the part that the state should play in industrial development. It was generally felt that the question would have to be dealt with by each country in the light of its own circumstances, administrative resources, traditions, etc., but it was agreed that key industries, defence industries and public utilities may appropriately fall within the purview of state ownership or control; in fact provisions to this effect have been embodied in the constitution of Indonesia, while the Indian Government's Statement on Industrial Policy includes specific provisions to this effect. The opinion was also widely expressed that there should be a sector of industrial economy which should be left to private enterprise. One delegate advanced the view that people should begin to think in terms of a co-ordinated and mutually consistent plan of industrial development of all countries in the Asian continent.

21. As regards priorities, no definite formula could be laid down that would be applicable to all Asian countries in view of their varying degrees of industrial development. But several delegates expressed themselves strongly in favour of establishing industries in Asia for the manufacture of fertilisers and agricultural

implements as these were basic to any scheme of expansion of agricultural output and improvement of agricultural efficiency—agriculture being, after all, the major industry of most Asian countries. Stress was also laid on the need for manufacturing transport equipment and on development of power resources. It was agreed that priorities have to be determined by each country, but exchange of information on the industrial development programmes among the Asian countries would be useful to each individual country in determining and, if necessary, modifying its order of priorities.

22. In conclusion, it must be emphasised once again that agricultural reconstruction and industrial development constitute the keynote of the transition from a colonial to a national economy in Asia. Without these it is impossible to raise the standard of living of the masses of the people. These are also essential for the maintenance of the political independence which many Asian countries are now acquiring and for enabling Asia to make her full contribution to world security and the maintenance of world peace. Agricultural reconstruction and industrial development are not going to be easy for an individual Asian country or even for the whole of Asia taken together. At the same time it is not too difficult, particularly if Asian governments will take the initiative in reconstructing and developing their economies and will enlist the fullest co-operation of their people in the formation as also the achievement of this great objective.

23. A new spirit of expectation, hope and endeavour is in the air in Asia today; and all that is needed is its constructive canalisation. In the achievement of this objective there is considerable room for inter-Asian co-operation, consistently with world objectives, and the fullest utilisation of the existing specialised agencies of the United Nations Organisation. Exchange of information and experience, mutual consultation on development plans, common action on matters of common interest—all these can make the path of each Asian country easier in reaching its destination of agricultural reconstruction and industrial development. It is hoped that out of the deliberations of this Conference will emerge some machinery which will make such inter-Asian action both possible and effective.

DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT

Prof. Humayun Kabir (delegate, India) opening the discussion on the report said that there seemed to be nothing in this report which was calculated to allay the doubts raised during the discussion of the report on transition from colonial to national economy. As far as one could follow the rather complicated report there was no definite reference in it to the control of foreign investments by a national government. Even if the report contained the suggestion that the state should control investments from abroad, that in itself was not enough. We had already experience of this in some cases. Germany had a controlled economy in the last decade when foreign investments were permitted. But this did not help the general economic development of the country. It was quite possible to imagine a situation where a highly centralised national authority controlled not only foreign investments in its territories but investments by its nationals abroad as well, and yet there is exploitation of one country by another. Prof. Kabir reiterated his suggestion that Asian countries should be recommended control and limitation of profits and the maintenance of a certain minimum standard of living for the worker. He did not overlook the possibility of evasion by industry of control over profits, but this would be difficult and larger profits arising out of greater efficiency and economy of management would then accrue to the country where they originate. His main point was that there should be some kind of limitation imposed on the transfer of profits. He thought that it was much easier for an Asian organisation to do that than for individual countries.

Dr. A. Nells (delegate, Ceylon) suggested that in addition to encouragement of cottage industries the report should recommend decentralisation of factories. It was necessary to avoid any confusion between the two. Cottage industries are small handicrafts in which agriculturists occupy themselves during the off season, while decentralisation of industry was mainly a problem of locational diversity. England and Switzerland had tried decentralisation to great benefit. A prominent Asian example was the State of Mysore in India where factories work in many cases at close proximity to agricultural areas so that the rural population could work in urban industry without actually getting urbanised.

Mr. G. E. de Silva (observer, Ceylon) said that in future no foreign capital should be allowed to enter any Asian country with-

out the sanction of the concerned government. In the case of existing businesses a condition could easily be imposed that a certain percentage of their profits, say about 80 per cent, should remain within the country in which it had been earned.

Mr. Kalantar, (delegate, Armenia) said that the observation in the report to the effect that capital and capital equipment constituted the most important problem of industrial development in Asian countries did not apply to the Republics of the Soviet Union. The delegate also did not agree, on behalf of the entire Soviet delegation, with the suggestion made during the discussion on the report that there should be an Asian Union on the lines of the Pan-American Union.

The Rapporteur, Dr. Rao, then replied to the various points raised on the contents of the report. He was inclined to accept Prof. Kabir's suggestion in the matter of controlling capital formation and profits, but was of the view that instead of making categorical statements it would be better to say that 'among such conditions could be considered the desirability of imposing limitations on profits and ensuring the maintenance of minimum living standards.' He was also quite agreeable to making a reference in the report to the desirability of decentralisation of factories. With regard to imports of foreign capital the whole burden of the theme was that imports of capital should be by the governments themselves so that they may maintain the strictest hold on the terms of such imports; in the circumstances the Rapporteur did not think it necessary to answer the point in the report. Replying to the point raised by Mr. Kalantar on Soviet industrialisation Dr. Rao invited attention to the fact that the report had made specific mention of the U.S.S.R. as an important exception to the general backward industrialisation of the Asian continent. The Group had taken special care to see that no injustice was done to the progressive conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union.

The plenary session then adopted the Rapporteur's report on Topic V with the amendments agreed to during the proceedings.

TOPIC VI. LABOUR PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL SERVICES

LABOUR PROBLEMS

The Chairman of the Round Table for Topic VI was Mr. N. M. Joshi (delegate, India) ; Vice-Chairman, Dr. D. H. Lew (delegate, China) ; and Rapporteur, Prof. Humayun Kabir (delegate, India).

DISCUSSION

With the consent of the Group the Chairman ruled that in dealing with labour problems both industrial and agricultural labour may be considered.

Opening the discussion a delegate for Ceylon said that in his country it had been estimated that 30 per cent of all earners were labourers. The conditions of employment were generally good and progressive. There were wage boards constituted of representatives of labour, employers and the Government. The function of the boards was to fix hours, wages and conditions of work. These boards had already fixed minimum wages covering the major industries. They had also legislation for setting up machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes both on a voluntary and compulsory basis. There were employment bureaus for labour recruitment and placing. Ceylon had also a workmen's compensation act. Recently a social service commission had recommended a comprehensive scheme of social security for the country embracing health and unemployment insurance and old age pensions. When the scheme was fully implemented, as it was likely to be under the new constitution, Ceylon would be spending as much as 12 per cent of her national income on social security. The delegate wished to submit to the Group the questions of disparity in wage rates between different countries and the insistence on fair standards for labour. Where industries compete for the same market at home or abroad, it is desirable that there should be some connection between the wages prevailing in the different countries. Otherwise the low wage country would oust a high wage country

from the market. Equalisation of wages was an important consideration because it would be impossible to maintain a high wage level in one country if wages were allowed to decline in another. Secondly, where the state extended assistance to industry by means of tariff protection, inter-governmental commodity agreements, etc., it should be made a condition of grant of such assistance that the industries which are beneficiaries should establish fair standards for labour.

A delegate for Malaya said that the Government and the foreign entrepreneurs had re-introduced pre-war wage rates in industry though the cost of living had risen by five times. Furthermore the Indian labourer did not enjoy parity in wage rates with the Chinese. Where the former was paid \$1.10 the latter was paid \$2.50. The sole object of importing indentured labour into Malaya since 1910 seemed to be its prospective exploitation by British capital. The conditions were so bad that when in 1910 some 3,000 workers were taken to Perak hardly 600 survived after three or four months. Not until 1940 was any attempt made to organise labour, but even this attempt was answered by machine guns. With the end of World War II, however, some good trade unions have begun to take shape. The delegate indicated that under the prevailing conditions in Malaya a piece-wage might be preferable to a time-wage. He said that justice was not done to the Indian worker because the home government, that is the Government of Madras, was adopting a policy of silence. He appealed to India and China to prevent migration of unskilled workers to Malaya until conditions improve and suggested that there should be a commission to investigate the conditions of Indian workers in Malaya.

A delegate for Indonesia said that the Ministry of Social Services of the Republic had enacted legislation for regulating hours and conditions of work for labour. The Government had also undertaken social security measures. The trade union movement in Indonesia was strong and comprehended both industrial and agricultural labour. Labour had representation in the provisional parliament of the Republic. Outside Java, however, the conditions of labour were still the same as they were before the war.

The delegate for Cochin China observed that labour problems had received recognition in Indo-China only subsequent to 1933.

There was a labour contract between the employee and the employer and where an enterprise had more than 25 workers there was a social security contract as well. The Government controlled the labour contract in such a manner that the employee got the minimum wage which was fixed every year, in relation to the cost of living, by a commission on which both the employer and labour are represented. A six-day week, holidays with pay, special rest for expectant mothers among female workers and prohibition of child labour below 12 years of age were the important features of labour legislation in Indo-China. In the plantations and mines the Government assist the workers to obtain compensation from the employer in case of industrial injuries. There was also a central labour board for the recruitment and placing of labour. A social security scheme was under consideration but labour was not allowed to form trade unions.

A delegate for China said that though 85 per cent of labour in China was agricultural, data on labour conditions were generally available only for industrial labour. There are about 5 million industrial workers in all China, he said, and half of these belong to trade unions of one kind or another. The total number of trade unions was between 4,000 and 5,000, the largest of these being the Chinese Labour Association. In one coal mining concern the workers managed the establishment jointly with the employers. Before the war Chinese wage rates were very low, being equivalent to hardly 7 or 8 U.S. dollars per month. During the war and after, consequent upon inflation, the salaried classes were hit more than the industrial workers. The labour policy of the Government was of course to enforce standards of wages and hours. The Central Government's labour regulations did not apply to non-industrial workers. Social security legislation covered health and accident insurance. The scheme was administered by the social insurance department of the Ministry. Social insurance, again, applied only to industrial workers.

A delegate for India said that there ought to be a difference in the approach to agricultural labour problems from the industrial. It should be remembered that in the case of agriculture the economy itself is unremunerative. It is not merely a question of better distribution of income between labour and employer but of the increasing total quantum of income itself for both, while in industry

there certainly is some substantial income for better distribution to be effected between labour and enterprise. Low aggregate income was now the fundamental fact of the agricultural industry in India. A different approach, continued the delegate, is necessary for yet another reason. The dividing line between the agricultural worker and the so-called peasant or tenant is extremely thin. In many villages we find peasant cultivators on small uneconomic holdings becoming wage workers for certain periods of the year. Similarly the tenant converts himself into a wage worker for certain periods or kinds of work. It was of course imperative that the system of serfdom and semi-slave labour that still prevails should be put an end to by legislation. But even more important was to create conditions for the abolition of serfdom. During the war years there was actually scarcity conditions prevailing in certain agricultural areas of the country owing to migration of substantial numbers from rural to urban areas on war work. Some at least of this scarcity seemed to be getting stabilised because the displaced and the demobilised did not return to the villages. Therefore, this seemed to be the proper time to stabilise better conditions with regard to the man-land ratio that had grown as a result of scarcity. The delegate then drew attention to the fact that agricultural labour was for the first time getting to be organised. A trade union movement among agricultural workers was visible in many parts of India though its organisation was still loose. Strikes at the time of transplantation or harvesting had occurred in recent years. In view of these developments it was necessary not to neglect the fundamental fact of poverty among agricultural labour, whatever the common treatment we might decide upon between agricultural and industrial labour. The problem of the farmer could not anyhow be isolated from problems of peasantry, tenancy and wage-working in agriculture.

The Chairman recognised the difference between the two kinds of labour but said that they were both interconnected. Conditions in one could not be improved beyond a certain limit unless those in the other were also improved. So long as free enterprise was the dominant economic system competition for the employer in the labour market between the two classes of labour could not but exist and therefore the welfare of the two should be deemed to be interconnected. The only agricultural condition that was regulated in India was perhaps usury. Minimum wage legislation in agri-

culture was under contemplation. In fact even for industry an enabling measure for provincial governments to legislate minimum wages was still awaiting enactment. While talking of agricultural labour we should distinguish between plantation agriculture and peasant agriculture. The former was organised while in the latter though the landlord was an independent man, he was not really a capitalist but a petty land holder. Turning to the problem of industrial labour the Chairman said that while workers in organised industry were about 5 million in India there was a very large body of labour employed in small-scale and cottage industries in rural areas. There was hardly any regulation of the conditions of work of these peoples with the result that only a small percentage of the total number of workers in the country came under any sort of regulation. The workers who came under the operation of the Factories Act were even less in number—about 2·5 million. The Act regulated hours of work and conditions of employment. There is also some legislation for labour in coal mines, railways and docks. Labour in the plantations still remained unlegislated for, except for one piece of legislation governing inter-provincial migration. There is also some legislation for factory workers in regard to payment of wages and compensation for industrial injuries. Social insurance is generally confined at present to a maternity benefit. But health insurance for workers in factories had been proposed. Regulation of wages in what are known as sweated industries was under contemplation and if the latter were defined to cover agriculture then beneficiaries of such regulation will be very large indeed. India had an 8-hour day and a 48-hour week in factories, and in the mines a 54-hour week. Labour legislation in India was enforced by a system of inspectorates and through the trade disputes acts which provide for adjudication and arbitration. It is obvious, said the Chairman, that the conditions of labour in India are extremely backward in comparison with those of the advanced industrial countries of the world. We should also remember that these countries are not only ahead of us but are continuing to progress even more. Therefore we should at least double our pace of progress if our conditions must catch up with theirs.

THE CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARY

The Chairman proceeded to observe that even under nationalisation of industry the problem of international competition would still remain. We cannot therefore get over the fact that improvement of labour conditions can only be limited without international co-operation. That is why the International Labour

Organisation has posited the minimisation of international competition and the establishment of social justice for the attainment of world peace. Only some Asian countries were at present members of the I.L.O. and others like Malaya, Ceylon and Viet Nam which were considered colonies were still out of it. He hoped that all countries would make the I.L.O. a platform to consider labour problems internationally. The Chairman assured the delegate for Malaya that it was not intended to allow Indian labour to go to Malaya and depress the latter's living standards. At the same time he said that if there was land available for settlement in any country they should take an international view and allow surplus population from over-populated regions to find employment there. He reiterated that if labour conditions in several countries should be evened out, then not only internal and international but also regional efforts were necessary.

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Another delegate for India described the efforts of the international Labour Organisation in the field of labour and social welfare. It was generally agreed that our social objective was the attainment of an ever-increasing standard of living for the common man, and full employment was the first condition of this. The immediate problem, however, was not so much of full employment but of staving off the prospect of unemployment which was staring us in the face. There was a fear in the minds of men that a depression was imminent. Agricultural reconstruction on the lines suggested by the Conference might make quite apparent the present disguised unemployment in agriculture. Mechanisation of agriculture would throw out quite a number from land even as the introduction of labour-saving device to industry would increase technological unemployment. The only way to prevent such possibilities was to devise methods of production that would keep on providing employment opportunities for larger numbers of people. The social problems attendant upon the adoption of newer processes in large-scale production have been the same in the East as in the West.

The delegate suggested that a kind of labour code for certain homogeneous economic-social regions should be evolved at the Conference. The International Labour Code furnished the basis for discussion on this problem and it could be modified to suit the

needs of particular countries. It was worth while considering whether the prescriptions laid down by the I.L.O. were not suited to the prevailing conditions and afforded the kind of minimum protection that the workers needed. Lastly it was necessary to bear in mind that the human element in production is just as important as the financial or the mechanical. Every step must be taken to induce in the worker a feeling that he is an important element of society.

A delegate for the Philippines said that the labour problem in his country was mainly confined to the results of maldistribution of labour. The treatment of labour in the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy was more or less equitable. Wage scales were pretty high and stood at present at about Rs. 4 for a eight-hour day. Sickness leave was granted according to the length of service. If a worker had served for one year he was entitled to at least 45 days compensation, in addition to hospitalisation and the necessary help that the government would give him.

The Group then proceeded to discuss trade unionism, industrial relations and social insurance. In reply to a query from an Indian delegate, a delegate for the Philippines said that in his country trade union leaders were drawn from among the labourers themselves, but some in the upper strata were lawyers. The delegate for Malaya said that in his country the Trade Unions Ordinance stipulated that two-thirds of the members of a trade union committee should be wage workers. The barristers acted as legal advisers to the trade union movement. The Chairman said that in India trade union officers were drawn from various classes. Some were workers and others were lawyers. He considered that freedom to choose their officers was a matter of great importance to trade unions. There were more than a thousand trade unions in India with a total membership between 1.5 to 2 million. In the matter of industrial relations we have to choose, said the Chairman, between the British practice where the government gets together the two parties to a dispute and helps them settle it without bringing any compulsion to bear upon them, and the Australian practice which follows the method of compulsory arbitration. He favoured the British practice because we were living in conditions unfavourable to arbitration at the hands of impartial men. A related question was that of strikes. Where there was compulsory arbitration, strikes are made illegal and the workers have to accept

the wage awards of the courts. In some countries the strike was illegal when arbitration was still in process and if an award was imposed then also the strike was illegal during the period of the award. The Chairman thought that in the present circumstances the workers should be free either to go on strike or not, and any restriction on the right to strike was, in his judgment, not in the interests of the workers.

The delegate for the Philippines said that the Islands had a Court of Industrial Relations whose decisions were final. In the eyes of the Court the government was like any other private employer. Strikes had, however, been made illegal by this Court.

A delegate for Indonesia said that in his country there were labour boards consisting of representatives of the Government and the trade unions who jointly deliberated on matters of production in industry and the plantations. In spite of the fact that workers were not yet receiving sufficient wages there were at the moment no strikes in Indonesia. Trade unions were generally supporting the Government and helping to increase production. Largely on account of the smooth industrial relations that prevail, as well as amicable relations between workers and the Republic, the trade union movement had grown rapidly during the past two years.

A delegate for India spoke on the point raised by the Chairman regarding compulsory arbitration and the right to strike. He was of opinion that our attitude to this should depend upon the nature of the state and those who dispensed the powers of the state. The working classes would naturally be suspicious of arbitration by a state run by a class whose interests were not identical with theirs and in whose *bona fides* they had no confidence. It was also perfectly understandable that labour should claim the right to strike and oppose compulsory arbitration. But with the growing integration of modern industrial structure the consequences of a strike were very extensive. Not only did it affect those who handle the weapon and the employer and his profits, but a large part of the whole community, much beyond the immediate vision of either the worker or the employer. The only solution for this, he said, lay neither in legislation nor in the strike itself but in the growth of socialist, communist or labour parties in the community that will ensure that the machinery of the state is in the hands of a progressive group identifying itself with the workers and the peasantry of the country.

The Chairman explained in reply to these remarks that he was not against arbitration as a method of settling differences but was against arbitration under present conditions. The conditions which the principle of arbitration presupposes did not exist in the present circumstances.

A delegate for Kazakhstan spoke on the position of the strike in Soviet industrial relations. No strikes occurred in the Soviet Union, he said, because industry belongs to society as a whole. The conventional conflict of interest between owner, employer and worker did not exist. The worker realised that he was working for society, for the group and for the masses. It is probably difficult, said the delegate, for people outside Soviet Russia to appreciate that the Soviet workers knew no industrial masters and did not see any reason to strike against themselves. But differences do arise sometimes between management and labour on problems of work and pay. On such occasions the trade union organisation discusses contentious points jointly with the management and labour and arrives at an amicable settlement. It is still possible that one of the parties is not satisfied with either the settlement reached or with the interpretation of the clauses of the agreement. In such cases the appellate authority was the central trade union organisation of the Soviet Union. There was also a central trade union organisation for the Asian Republics.

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A delegate for India said that the experience of Soviet Russia in the field of industrial relations was both unique and exceptional. When we have a workers' state the problem of the strike does not arise. But even in a socialist country like Britain strikes were not altogether avoidable because the government has got to take care of wider interests than those represented by a trade union organisation. In India the problem was one of making settlement of industrial relations effective. Most problems arose in regard to increased production which could not be solved without a proper settlement of the strike question. The delegate was in general agreement with the views expressed earlier that it may not be proper to make strike illegal and enforce the principle of compulsory arbitration. But the attitude of workers towards compulsory arbitration will also depend, he said, on the degree to which the trade union movement has evolved itself. Not long ago the workers themselves asked for compulsory arbitration in India when their bargaining power was not very great. Today the position between

the worker and the employer was even. The case for compulsory arbitration was no doubt not overwhelming but at the same time the freedom to strike could not be granted in the present situation of integrated economic life without that principle being subjected to certain limitations. Some of these arise from the fact that certain industries belong to the essential and public utility categories, but apart from this, the right to strike must always be accompanied by a provision for enquiry and finally, an award. The award, however, need not be binding, for reasons of both principle and practice. An award is an award and it should be left to the parties concerned either to accept it or not, though it is a general proposition that to allow strikes during the pendency of arbitration proceedings is out of question. But the fundamental point, said the delegate, is that society has advanced to a stage when certain sectors of the economy cannot be allowed to be completely on strike. We must ensure against this, not by legislation, but by creating conditions where workers will have complete confidence in the government as well as in the nature of the various machinery that it sets up to handle industrial relations. Above all, we must have voluntary machinery which should be utilised as far as possible, though in the final resort compulsory arbitration might be inevitable.

The observer for the India Institute said that it would be necessary for the report of the Group to give an idea of the extent and strength of trade union organisation in Asian countries excluding Soviet Russia. It should also deal with the question of organisation of labour in occupations other than industry and with civil liberty. There should preferably be a statement made to the effect that freedom included freedom of economic organisation. It was also necessary to consider whether in our future conferences the Asian section of the World Trade Union Congress should in some form be represented. Yet another point for consideration was to what extent trade union organisation had permeated in countries where social customs and distinctions had a hold on an already backward economy. Moreover, to what extent has trade unionism spread to the economic upper strata of labour—to the white-collared professions—in Asian countries? In Great Britain, for example, highly paid scientists and civil servants are organised in trade unions. Referring to the question of industrial relations the observer said that there seemed to be some confusion between arbitration and conciliation. In the British system when industrial courts were first established they were deliberately called machinery for

conciliation *and* arbitration. What earlier speakers had in mind was mainly machinery for conciliation which was also what Soviet Russia had. Arbitration in the sense of giving an award was a different concept. However, in any society that desired industrialisation for national security we should plump for an extension of machinery for conciliation, and this was necessary for the rapid, large-scale and lasting industrialisation of Asia.

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Group C met in plenary session for Topic VI—Labour Problems and Social Services, on 1 April 1947. Mr. Yusufov (Azerbaijan) was elected to the Chair. In the unavoidable absence of the Rapporteur of the Group, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan presented the following report :

THE REPORT

It was at the outset agreed that a short, factual statement on conditions of employment in different countries would precede discussion on special topics like trade unionism, industrial relations, and social insurance. Group E desired that the two Groups (Groups C and E) should sit together for discussion of questions affecting social services and this was agreed to.

It was agreed that discussion should cover problems of both agricultural and industrial labour. It is true that there are differences between the two. Seasonal unemployment is far more marked in agriculture than in industry. Also, the line of demarcation between employee and employer is often tenuous in the case of agriculture. Again, industrial workers are more organised and conscious. The differences are, however, in degree rather than in kind, and in any case agriculture and industry are very closely inter-connected. Nor can it be forgotten that agriculture constitutes the major occupation for most of the Asian peoples. In China, about 85 per cent of the people are employed in agriculture. Figures for India are comparable and the same thing applies with minor differences to almost all the southeast Asian countries. In the Mongolian Peoples' Republic the analogous occupation of cattle breeding and grazing constitutes the main occupation of the people.

There is always a silent competition between industry and agriculture, for the labour conditions of industrial workers cannot be improved materially without improvements in conditions of

agricultural labour. Agricultural labour is also becoming more conscious of its rights and powers than before. There are indications of the growth of trade unionism among agricultural labourers. It was also pointed out that organised agriculture in plantations was different from unorganised agriculture in rural areas. Conditions in plantations are easier to control and it was stated that in Indo-China since 1936, Government have enforced a contract of social security in all plantations which employ more than 25 workers. Ceylon has Wage Boards consisting of representatives of labour, employers and government for regulating minimum wages and conditions of work. Indonesia, after the formation of the Republic, has taken over the control of plantations, and the Ministry of Social Affairs has enacted a Labour Act providing for an 8-hour day and some social services and social insurance. In India also, plantation labour has some protection in the form of control of migration. Other agricultural workers have little protection beyond Acts to control usury. Reference was also made to the existence of bond service in certain areas and it was agreed that such a system should be abolished. It is now contemplated to enact legislation which will permit governments to enforce minimum wages in sweated industries and for agricultural workers. The problem is of special urgency as there are about 30 million agricultural wage earners in India.

It was stated that in the Philippines the problem of agricultural labour is less acute for several reasons. There is no pressure of population and agricultural wages are equivalent to Rs. 4 for an 8-hour day. There are schemes to provide for old age and sickness in addition to vacations and paid holidays.

The question of industrial workers was then taken up. The Asian Republics of U.S.S.R. stand in a special category as their agriculture has also been largely industrialised. These Republics have no unemployment and every citizen has the right to work. There has been a steady increase in standards of living as well as the cultural level through planned production and planned training of personnel. Differences between manual and mental work have also been largely abolished and secondary school education is provided for everybody, thus offering opportunity to each citizen to move through stages from manual work to the status of industrial technicians.

Leaving aside the Soviet Asian Republics, two features were common to most of the other countries. Industrial workers are more organised than agricultural workers and more figures and data are available about them. Also, legislation for securing better conditions applies primarily to industrial workers in almost every Asian country. It was stated that the number of industrial workers in India is about 5 million in organised industry and about half of them are protected by the Factories Act and similar enactments. These control hours of work, employment of women and children, conditions of hygiene and in some cases payment of compensation and wages. It is now proposed to legislate for health insurance and control of sweated industries. China, it was reported, has about 5 million industrial workers with regulations made by the Ministry of Social Affairs applied to them. The Government aim to establish standards of wages and hours and there are some laws for health and accident insurance. Wages were very low before the war but during the war and after, Chinese industrial workers have, in spite of the prevailing inflation, somewhat improved their position vis-a-vis the salaried classes. In Malaya the reintroduction of pre-war rates of wages in spite of five-fold increase in cost of living has, it was said, further depressed the already low standard of living of workers. In addition, discrimination between workers coming from different countries was reported with Indian labourers getting only \$ 1.10 as against \$ 2.50 paid to Chinese workers.

It was agreed that with a few honourable exceptions the economic conditions of workers in most Asian countries were greatly backward compared to those in Great Britain and other industrial countries of the West. The disparity is not only indefensible from the point of view of human dignity but also constitutes a danger to the peace of the world, as there can be no peace without social justice within and between countries. In the case of the Asian countries, this means that the pace of progress must be more rapid than in the more advanced countries. Not only must Asian countries make up the existing lee-way but keep pace with the progress now being made in the more advanced countries. Conditions cannot be changed all at once and it will of course take time for Asian countries to attain equality with the more advanced countries, but the two facts, of existing difference and the continuing progress of the more advanced countries, demand greater efforts on the part of the Asian people.

The social objective is therefore the attainment of an increasing standard of life for the common man and this can be achieved only by increase in level of production and employment as well as more equitable distribution of the fruits of industry. A complication is however introduced by the threat of unemployment facing the world on account of cessation of war-time demands and the increasing rationalisation and mechanisation of industry and agriculture. These are problems common to all countries and call for national effort and international co-operation. Similar difficulties faced the world after World War I. The International Labour Organisation was then founded to secure international standards for labour, eliminate competition of an undesirable type between nations and also secure social justice to the workers of the world. The present situation requires similar approach and the more so because of some new factors. The war-time shortage of man-power has led to some increase in the standard of life of agricultural workers and steps must be taken to see that the gains made by the agricultural labourers during the period of the war are not lost.

The Group also discussed the problem of industrial relations. It was agreed that a contented labour force is one of the prime factors in any increase of production. There were wide variations between countries in respect of trade union organisation and the degree of liberty permitted to workers for enforcing their demands. Experience in different countries shows that the attitude of labour on these problems depends very largely on its attitude to the government. Where the workers have confidence in the government, there is less industrial strife. The trade unions in such cases co-operate with the government in maintaining amicable industrial relations. In the Soviet Asian Republics the question of strikes has never arisen as workers feel that the factories belong to them. Even where there are differences between the management and labour, these are settled by the trade union organisations and if any party is dissatisfied with the decision of the local trade union, there are appeals to central trade union organisations of the Asian Republics and, in some cases, of the U.S.S.R.

In the opinion of the Group, experience has demonstrated that strikes cannot be eliminated by legislation alone. The question is closely allied with that of compulsory arbitration. The method of conciliation where applied has on the whole proved more satisfactory than the method of arbitration. It was pointed out that

strikes are social phenomena whose influence extends beyond the employers and the employees concerned. It was doubtful if there could be any effective check on the right to strike, but if any limitation was imposed, it must of course be accompanied by equal limitation on the right of lockout or of change in the conditions of employment prejudicial to workers. In the opinion of the Group, the problem could be better solved by associating labour with administration of both industry and public affairs. Joint management by workers and employers, as in the case of the Kailin coal mining concern in China, was more likely to eliminate the problems of strikes in industry.

The state of organisation of trade unions in different countries was then taken up. Conditions again vary widely in different countries. In China, it was stated, about 50 per cent of the 5 million industrial workers are organised in trade unions which number about four to five thousand. In India, about 2 million industrial workers are reported to be organised. There has been an impetus to trade unionism in the Indonesian Republic (where 1.5 million workers are said to be organised in trade unions), Indo-China and Malaya since the end of the war. In fact, all over the Asian countries, the cessation of hostilities has seen a tremendous growth in trade union activities. Agricultural workers have also been drawn into the movement. The general opinion was that there should be no limitation on trade unions to find leaders from non-worker groups: just like employers' organisations, the trade unions should also have the right of choosing leaders from wherever they liked.

In existing circumstances, competition, both internal and international, cannot be solved entirely by national efforts. Regional and international efforts are necessary for the solution of the problem because of obvious limitations to national effort. The consensus of opinion is that action would be most fruitful along the following lines:

- (i) Development of schemes to be worked out by particular countries to stave off impending unemployment arising from: (a) cessation of war-time demands; (b) the increasing rationalisation and mechanisation of agriculture and industry.
- (ii) Formulation of a fair labour standard with the standards laid down in I.L.O. conventions as a basic minimum.

- (iii) Extension of the scope of existing labour legislation to further categories of workers.
- (iv) The creation and development of organisations for enforcement and inspection as regards labour legislation.
- (v) The organisation of training centres for trade union officers.
- (vi) Encouragement of tri-partite, that is, government-employee-worker collaboration in labour matters and economic questions generally.
- (vii) Co-operation with the World Trade Union Congress and the I.L.O.
- (viii) Formulation of a minimum standard of civil liberties to enable workers to organise
- (ix) Extension of political rights to workers.
- (x) Formulation of a charter of human rights embodying minimum standards of requirements for food, clothing, house room, education, medical service and social security.
- (xi) Collection and interchange of statistics and information on labour matters in different Asian countries.

DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT

Opening the discussion on the report a delegate for Indonesia said that the points made by the Indonesian delegation during the Group discussion regarding the harmonious relations subsisting in their country between workers and the state deserved especial mention in the report. The problem of the strike admitted of easy solution in Indonesia because of the confidence reposed by the trade union movement in the present government. Although the right to strike was recognised and there was no fundamental improvement in the workers conditions of living, labour refrained from going on strike. On the other hand the slogan of the labour movement was to support the Government's policy and to help increase production in the interests of the defence and reconstruction of the country.

A delegate for Mongolia said that though the livestock industry provided the main occupation for the people, the Mongolian

Peoples Republic had a flourishing agriculture and industry too. There was no unemployment and the citizens had the right to work and be educated.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (delegate, India) expressed particular pleasure at the fact that the Group had considered labour problems in their regional and international setting also. He referred to the regional Asian conference which the International Labour Organisation had called to meet in India in October 1947. There would be another regional conference of labour in 1948 in China. The Asian Trade Union Conference which had been organised some years ago had met twice, once in Colombo and again in Tokyo, but unfortunately the work of this body had to be suspended when war intervened. These conferences had, however, promoted contact between trade unionists of various Asian countries.

Dr. L. K. Hyder (delegate, India) suggested that an increasing proportion of the national income should be spent on social amenities to the people because money was the important thing for all beneficial activities in the field of labour welfare. Secondly, the happiness of the people of Asia depended to a very large extent upon the maintenance of peaceful conditions in the various countries of the continent. In this, women could play a particularly important rôle by arraying themselves on the side of such movements as were working for cessation of civil strife and war abroad, and for the promotion of peace. Thirdly, he emphasised that human beings should have the preponderating share in the social product and not the machine which was only an auxiliary to human labour.

Mr. G. E. de Silva (observer, Ceylon) said that some means should be devised to prevent strikes on the part of labour while giving every chance to the workers to satisfy their requirements. In countries which had extensive plantations and factory industries a certain part of the aggregate profit should be set apart to be paid to the labourers at the end of the year. This might make the workers more interested in seeing that the industries and plantations made profits. By getting a chance to participate in profits with the entrepreneurs it may be possible not only to prevent strikes but to infuse a living interest in labour in its day to day work.

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya (delegate, India) said that the above was really an addition to the social objectives that had

been enumerated earlier by the Group. If the proposal was that by distributing the profits of industry amongst labour the latter would develop a more vital and direct interest in actual production, she would go further and say that unless labour had responsibility for production itself the mere distribution of profits would not be a sufficient incentive. There would always be ways and means by which this could be established—through conventions and legislation. But it involved a very vital principle which might determine to a large extent the pattern of our future economic structure. Unless those who were employed in the productive process took a direct and responsible interest in the industrial organisation the relation between the entrepreneur-producers and those engaged in the actual productive process would continue to remain rather illusory and vague.

Mr. N. M. Joshi said that as profit sharing had been proposed to stop strikes he felt bound to say that in the present circumstances it was unlikely that strikes could be avoided; nor was a strike always an evil. The remedy of profit sharing to prevent strikes had to contend with some important considerations. In the first place whether a concern will be working at a profit or not depends upon the employer, the management or the directorate of the company. If profits are to be shared between workers and the management those who were in control of industry may show smaller profits. Secondly, industry not only makes profits but also incurs losses during certain years. There might be people who logically expect that workers who have a share in profits should be willing to share the losses also, while the workers might not be willing to accept this position. This profit sharing idea, said Mr. Joshi, is really not a method of stopping strikes. If strikes should be stopped then labour must be made responsible not only for the management of industry but for the conduct of government itself. Only when labour had a voice proportionate to its numbers in the population will it feel that it is getting a square deal and so long as this feeling is absent there will be strikes. Mr. Joshi thought that the Conference need not consider profit sharing as a method of strike prevention and hoped it would express no opinion on the subject.

The plenary session then adopted the Rapporteur's report on Topic VI.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SPEECH

At this stage Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the meeting accompanied by Pandit Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He was welcomed by the Chairman and Mr. Han Lih-wu of China who called him the spiritual leader of India, the light of Asia and a great man of the world. Upon their request Mahatma Gandhi addressed the plenary session on the proposed permanent Asian institute. He said :

" I do not know if I can offer any remarks of a helpful nature and therein lies a confession of my ignorance. By correspondence I know almost all parts of the world ; therefore naturally all parts of Asia, because Asia belongs to the world. I do not recall any single country which is represented in this Conference and with which I have not corresponded, but I must confess that I know very few of you personally. Some parts of the question of an Asian institute were discussed by Pandit Nehru with me yesterday. Realising the gross physical limitations of mine I thought I would not be able to say anything useful here but this is a question after my heart—whether I think an institute should be formed. Having assembled here and so eagerly, this is a great event for us all who belong to Asia. It is a great event certainly for us in India that perhaps for the first time in our history such a Conference takes place on Indian soil.

I am sorry to have to say that we seem to be fighting. We do not know what it is that can keep the peace between us and within ourselves. We have so many opinions formed that we do not know how to settle between ourselves in a humane manner. We think we must resort to the law of the jungle. It is a shameful thing and it is an exhibition which I would like you not to carry to your respective countries but bury here. I think you will admit that India is now on the eve of her full independence, independence of every foreigner who wants to own this country and be its lord and master. It is not as if we want to change our masters. We want to be our own masters. But how shall we be masters, I do not know. All I know is that we should do our duty and leave the result to the powerful hands of God. Man is supposed to be the maker of his own destiny. It is only partially true. He can make his own destiny only in so far as he is allowed by the Great Power which overrides all our intentions and plans. I call that Great Power not by the name of God but by a word which I first used

in a church or chapel—I forget which—in Switzerland where I was on a visit to meet the great sage Romain Rolland. He said ‘God is Truth’. I said, ‘I want to reverse the position and say ‘Truth is God’. To that I cling even today. That Truth overrides all our plans and is a power which we do not know. When we say we are true, we say what is true. It is only partially true, not wholly. The whole truth is embodied only in the heart of that Great Power. I may also call it Force but I have no better word than Truth. Therefore my God is Truth, and everything that I see around me must be reduced to that Truth which no one can describe. I was taught from my early days to regard that as unapproachable. You cannot reach that Truth. A great Englishman taught me to believe that He was unknowable. I cannot share that expression. He is knowable, but knowable only to the extent that our little intellect would allow us. If He is unknowable, then, of course, there would be no God. For me He is there. I came to recognise that He was best represented by the word Truth. Hence I would say that you, gentlemen from different parts of Asia, having come here and with eagerness, should meet yearly or once in two or three years. You should carry away sweet memories of the meeting and make every effort to build that great edifice of Truth. That is what you should do.

The representatives of all Asian powers and Asian peoples have come together. Is it in order to wage war against Europe, against America, against non-Asians? I say emphatically ‘no’. That is not India’s mission and I am free to confess that I would feel extremely sorry if India, having won her independence essentially or rather predominantly through non-violent means, was going to use it for the suppression of other parts of the world—let alone Asian powers—of European powers because they have exploited the different races inhabiting this vast continent called Asia. I think that would be a sorry thing. You should all go away with the fixed determination that Asia shall live, shall live as free as the other Western nations who flatter themselves into the belief that they are free. I do not regard them as free at all, but I do not want to enter into the labyrinths of that topic. I just want to say that the idea is sound that such a Conference should be renewed at stated times.”

Asked if he subscribed to the theory of ‘One World’ and whether it would succeed in present conditions, Mahatma Gandhi

said : " Well, it is a good question to ask. That enables you to read my mind somewhat. I must confess to you that I would not like to live in this world if it was not to be one world. Certainly I would like to see that dream realised in my lifetime ; not in the present generation, but in my lifetime. Suppose all the representatives who have come here from Asia go away with one mind and fixed determination that they will strive their best to have only one world, then, of course, they will have to work out ways and means. I dare say that if you go away with a determination to carry your will through, there is no doubt that in your own generation you will certainly see the dream realised."

Social Services

Group C held a joint session with Group E of the Conference on 31 March 1947 to discuss Social Services. The Chairman of the session was Mr. N. M. Joshi ; Vice-Chairman, Miss Chen Yi-yun ; and Rapporteur, Prof. Humayun Kabir.

DISCUSSION

The Chairman invited a distinguished guest with extensive knowledge of social services in India to initiate the discussion. Speaking generally of health and social services in his country the distinguished guest observed that between 85 and 90 per cent of the people live in the villages scattered all over the country and in the past health protection on modern lines has thus been woefully lacking for the vast bulk of the population. In meeting the urgent need of providing health services to this section of the people it was obvious that the strength of medical personnel had to be expanded. Even more important was the question of expanding the strength of auxiliary personnel like nurses, midwives and health visitors. A considerable amount of work in the outlying areas depended upon these. A difficulty in causing an increase of such personnel was the very limited number of persons in India that could staff institutions in which these could be given training. The people from whom recruits can be drawn for training are also not very many. The Health Survey and Development Committee in India has recommended that as far as possible instruction and training for the lower categories of personnel should be imparted in the language of the area from which the trainees are drawn.

This is only one way, he said, in which we would be able to educate them in the shortest time possible. It also appeared to him as important that even people with a lower standard of basic education than required under the present rules should be taken on. By such methods it would be possible to speed up the educational programme of health services. It would take twenty-five years for the number of doctors to increase by four times. In the same period the number of nurses would have to be increased by a hundred times and the number of midwives by twenty times. Side by side with such programme of expansion it was necessary for the concerned governments to have a programme of employment too if disastrous results should be avoided. There were now quite a number of doctors who were unemployed and utilisation of medical personnel was important in any scheme of health services. Another important point was to break the present apathy in regard to matters of health and take administrative, educational and other measures to bring home to the people the need for co-operation in the promotion of health measures. The village, with a committee of 5 to 10 persons—each entrusted with one item of the development programme—should be the unit of administration for the social services.

A Soviet delegate speaking for all the participating Republics said that the Soviet system had not only banished unemployment but had provided for the training of skilled workers and the raising of the cultural level. The state aimed at abolishing the contrast between mental and manual labour. In practice it meant taking such measures as to enable every worker to get at least secondary school education. In addition to general education and technical training the Soviet worker was encouraged to take an active interest in the organs of government and to develop his special aptitude in any branch of culture and art. One of the most important means of performing this tremendous task were the 'labour reserves'. These reserves consist of adolescents, both boys and girls, recruited with the consent of their parents and put into special industrial schools for training for work in various branches of industry. Not only is training free but the pupils are provided with food, shelter and clothing at government expense. In this scheme of training the recruits acquired some definite industrial qualifications in addition to a general secondary school education. The state pays special attention, said the delegate, to the problem of ensuring that the

pupil develops taste for culture in its various shapes and does not end up merely with narrow specialisation. A further channel of training, continued the delegate, was the technical school run by the industrial enterprise itself. Here the workers received education after their working hours. The Soviet citizen can thus pass through a succession of educational stages and ultimately join the ranks of the technical intelligentsia.

A delegate for China said that social welfare administration in his country came under the Ministry of Social Affairs. The most important social work at present was the rehabilitation of workers and peasants which the Government was carrying out with U.N.R.R.A. aid. The major measures that are being adopted under this rehabilitation programme are the following : (i) Work relief to repair and build roads ; (ii) Government loans on lenient interest to restore handicraft factories ; (iii) rural credit by banks to needy farmers ; (iv) free maternity clinics for the poor with the aid of the Red Cross ; (v) homes for the destitute, the aged and the weak ; (vi) nutrition centres for under-nourished children threatened by diseases like rickets and tuberculosis—the daily ration of milk and bread in these being given by U.N.R.R.A. ; (vii) homes for refugee children where inmates are fed and educated to prevent their becoming delinquents ; (viii) free lodging for those looking for jobs ; (ix) free reading classes for children and adults alike to decrease illiteracy ; and (x) health centres and educational tours to prevent diseases and promote better health and sanitation.

A delegate for Mongolia detailed the conditions of women in the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. While 50 per cent of the total population was literate, 20 in every 100 literates were women. Forty-one per cent of all pupils in elementary and high schools were girls and 18 per cent of all teachers were women. About 25 per cent of students receiving higher education are women and more than 75 per cent of medical workers are also women. Taking the occupations, the delegate said that 65 per cent of those engaged in the livestock industry and 38 per cent of industrial workers were women. The proportion of women in the administrative services is about 16 per cent. They had a 48-hour week in Mongolia with 15 to 30 days of annual leave with full pay. There was also a scheme of children's allowances.

A delegate for Indonesia described the social services that prevailed in her country for the best part of Dutch rule. She conveyed a relative idea of the social conditions of the population by pointing out that while 23·5 per cent of Europeans were tax payers, only 0·05 per cent of Indonesians paid taxes. Public health was worst during the Japanese occupation, she said, owing to the imprisonment of doctors, the closure of medical colleges in most parts of the country, lack of medical supplies and funds for them, and malnutrition owing to bad food. Since its advent the Republican Government had effected improvement in many ways. Measures were being taken to combat diseases like malaria, dysentery, typhus etc. The delegate explained that they experienced much difficulty in the matter of supplies of medicine and she asked for India's help in the matter. Efforts were also being made to train physicians, chemists and dentists.

A delegate for Ceylon said that the outstanding obstacles to health in his country were malaria, hookworm infection and malnutrition. The last one was, however, the most serious, affecting as it did mothers and infants and made the prevalence of the other two more extensive. Two-fifths of the population did not obtain sufficient energy from their diet. The Government was endeavouring to improve the situation by providing for free milk distribution and mid-day meal to poor school children and by education in dietics.

A delegate for Burma made special mention of the high infantile mortality in her country. She deplored the fact that social services in Burma had to be managed by private organisations instead of by the state and hoped that things would improve under the National Government.

A delegate for Cambodia referred to the lack of hygienic sense among the Indo-Chinese generally and among mothers in particular. The Cambodian Government had started health instruction in schools and appointed medical inspectors to go round educational institutions at regular intervals. More dispensaries for women and children were being established. Provision for medical education and for the training of nurses and midwives was being made. Referring to housing conditions the delegate observed that they were satisfactory in rural parts but cities were overcrowded.

A delegate for India observed that the Western system of education which has been in vogue in India during the British rule

was unsuited to the country's needs. The Wardha scheme of education had been propounded to relate education to life and surroundings in India. It sought to combine compulsory primary education and higher education on a craft basis. India's main difficulty in educational reconstruction was in regard to personnel. The delegate wished to know how a country like Russia was rapidly able to reduce illiteracy, because the paucity of teachers was so enormous in India that the post-war scheme of education envisaged by the Government of India estimated that it would take 40 years to put it through completely. It might be useful, she added, if a condition were laid down that students should serve the state after completing their education and before obtaining their degrees so that the necessary number of teachers might be forthcoming. She also pointed out that we should guard against man's natural intelligence being spoiled by systematic misuse of the printed word as had occurred in the Nazi and Fascist countries.

A delegate for the Philippines said that under American rule the education of boys and girls had made substantial progress in the Philippines. The percentage of literacy had increased from 19 to 55. A quarter of the national revenues is at present being expended on education. Approximately 3,350,000 pupils—about 16 per cent of the entire population—are in schools and colleges. One-third of the 50,000 students in the eight colleges of Manila are girls, and among school students nearly 50 per cent are girls. Thanks to the existence of excellent training institutions and the popularity of the teaching profession among women the Philippines did not experience much difficulty in the training of teachers. In training schools teachers get 2 years' training for elementary school teaching, 4 years' training for high school teaching, and a post-graduate course for an additional year or two for college teaching.

A delegate for Palestine Jews observed that sometimes political activity obscures from the mind of people their duty to society in the matter of the social services. In Palestine no girl or boy of 17 or 18 could go to the university unless he or she did one year as a manual labourer.

A delegate for Korea said that during the last 50 years the percentage of literacy has been moved up to about 25. The soul of a nation could not be sustained without education, nor could political independence be sustained without a soul. Adult education in

Korea needs special mention, said the delegate. Schools, churches and teachers are utilised after school hours for adult education purposes. Korea is now concentrating on the training of teachers in its own colleges because trainees no longer go to Japan as they used to, before the war.

A delegate for Ceylon pointed out that in Ceylon women's organisations served as the connecting link between government departments and the masses of the people in carrying education to the villages. Women teachers attend to adult education work thrice a week. Women's organisations were carrying the message of cleanliness from house to house and had helped eradication of the hookworm menace from 15 villages and malaria from 7 villages

A distinguished guest said that in the matter of mass education the main difficulty lay in inducing boys to go back to their villages from which they came to the towns, after completion of their education. To overcome this he advocated the establishment of training institutions in backward areas and preventing the trained teachers from migrating to the towns. Another distinguished guest said that in the dullness of rural life that prevailed it was really difficult to expect people like teachers who were accustomed to urban life to stay behind in the rural areas. He indicated that the solution to this lay in the greater urbanisation of rural areas by a larger outlay out of revenue on the village.

A delegate for India said that the discussion revealed that with the exception of the Soviet Republics and possibly of the Philippines and Korea the general standard of social services in Asian countries was extremely low. What should emerge out of the Conference was not a mere interest in the social services but a sense of desperate urgency about them. The past might have been an age of scarcity but it is now an age of plenty with the tremendous resources which science has placed at our disposal, and whose potentialities for the material and cultural enrichment of the ordinary people are immense. It is necessary, added the delegate, that social services and all allied activities should be integrated into and visualised as a single strong pattern to build the good life of the masses. Looking at them as so many isolated problems would not generate either in the teacher or in the general social worker that idealism which is needed for a great task. Education in parti-

cular should be presented as part of the larger problem of social reconstruction.

In his concluding remarks the Chairman observed that three things came prominently out of the discussion. First, except a few regions in Asia the rest of the continent was in need of transformation—if not a revolution—in the matter of health, hygiene, housing and education. Secondly, we cannot rely very much on private enterprise for the betterment of the social services. Conditions can be changed only by throwing the obligation on governments. Thirdly, the Conference showed that in this matter we can learn a great deal from each other. Every country in Asia had something to contribute towards the education of all in problems connected with the social services.

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Later on the same day the joint Group adopted the following Rapporteur's report on Social Services.

THE REPORT

The joint meeting of Group C and Group E on the Social Services and the Status of Women and Women's Movements opened with statements of the position obtaining in different Asian countries. The discussions made it clear that excepting a few favoured regions, most of the Asian countries suffered from extreme backwardness in respect of health, hygiene, housing and education. In India 85 to 90 per cent of the people live in villages scattered all over the country which lack the most elementary social services in respect of sanitation and education. Housing has generally not been regarded as a social problem at all but one for the individual to solve. The same rural bias exists in China and most of the other Asian countries. The major factor responsible for the present low standards of social services has been the prevailing poverty in Asian countries. China and some of the southeast Asian countries have suffered further deterioration because of the effects of the recent war.

The preponderance of rural population has made it more difficult to collect the necessary factual data regarding the health services. It has also made the provision of services more difficult because of the monotony of life in rural areas. There is a great shortage of facilities for training the necessary medical personnel.

When persons acquired the necessary training they were reluctant to go to the rural areas. The shortage of adequate health and hygiene services can be somewhat realised from the fact that India would require in the next twenty-five years a four-fold increase in the number of doctors, an increase by twenty times in the number of midwives and a hundred times in the number of nurses in order to provide the requirements of a minimum national health service. India spends roundabout 2 annas per head per annum on health as against Rs. 55 per head per annum in Great Britain. This is also a measure of the deficiency of the necessary services. Reference was made to the fact that there is unemployment amongst trained doctors in spite of acute shortage in medical services. It was also suggested that one way of dealing with the rural health problem would be to encourage the establishment of village health committees entrusted with specific items of work. In one Indian province, a bill has been introduced by which every adult between the ages of 18 and 25 may be compelled to work 8 days a year for health and other services of the community. Reference was also made to the great paucity of health services for women. In many of the southeast Asian countries women preferred being treated by women doctors, owing to the prevailing social ideas. This makes the need for the extension of facilities for training of women doctors, midwives and nurses all the greater. It was stated that in the Mongolian Peoples Republic the number of women doctors working is 76 per cent of the total number of doctors.

The reason for infant mortality and lower vitality is also largely economic. It was stated that in Ceylon two-fifths of the population did not obtain sufficient energy from their diet. Even Burma, which formerly had a higher standard of life than many of the Asian countries, has suffered greatly in recent years. The figures of infant mortality there are very large today. The rapid fall in infant and maternal mortality rates in Palestine suggests that a better standard of life and medical attendance can largely eradicate these evils.

As already indicated, housing has not as yet been looked at from the point of view of the community in most of the Asian countries. Housing conditions are satisfactory neither in rural areas nor in towns. The hardships are not felt to the same extent in rural areas, but the standard of housing in many of them required radical improvement. Sanitation in rural areas is in a deplorable

condition ; even in towns there is often lack of provision for sanitary and other services. Recently in some of the larger cities there has been a tendency for governments and other large-scale employers in industry to provide housing for employees.

It was stated that in spite of the ravages of the war the Indonesian Republic has been able to maintain public health standards at at least the pre-war level.

Coming to education, it was the general sense of the two Groups that, with the exception of the Soviet Republics, Ceylon, the Philippines, and possibly Korea, conditions required radical improvement. The problem here was again one of finding the necessary personnel for educating large groups in a short period. The fact of rural tedium further aggravated the problem. Reference was made to the practice in Palestine by which no student is permitted to go to the university unless he or she has done one year's work as a manual labourer. It was suggested that in the Asian countries a similar system might be followed with advantage for purposes of extending literacy. The importance of adult education was also emphasised and reference was made to the methods found successful in Korea and Ceylon.

The question of the content of education was also taken up. It was felt that there should be collaboration between different Asian countries in planning their systems of national education. The experience of the Soviet Asian Republics with Labour Reserve Schools for technical education of workers provided an example which might be followed with advantage in other countries. The need for close co-ordination between craft and literary education is now being emphasised. The Wardha scheme of education rightly pointed out that children should be trained with reference to their environments and future work in life. Emphasis on the mother tongue and a basic craft are features which other countries might adopt in their educational systems. Finance was, no doubt, an outstanding problem, but even more important was the question of training suitable personnel.

It was generally agreed by the two Groups that the existing conditions in health, hygiene, housing and education required great improvement and that these improvements cannot be carried out by private enterprise alone. It is only by state action and

nationalisation of the social services that the necessary changes can be made as quickly as desirable. Expenditure for such purposes can never be too great, for there is no richer endowment for a nation than an improvement in its human material. The status and emoluments of teachers have to be raised and, in addition, an ideology and spirit of service created, by which teachers may feel that they are performing a supreme national task.

The Groups are of opinion that action may be taken on the following lines :

- (i) Collection of information in respect of all these questions in different Asian countries. The Conference itself has shown that the different countries can learn a great deal from one another, and a pooling of experience and resources would be conducive to the interest of all.
- (ii) Expansion of medical education and the training of nurses and midwives.
- (iii) Introduction of Social Security schemes.
- (iv) Definition of minimum standards of housing for the adult population in conformity with climatic and geographical conditions of the country.
- (v) Promotion and control of schemes for providing sanitary and other amenities in urban and rural areas.
- (vi) Provision of compulsory education in ever-increasing degrees for all.
- (vii) Conscription of students for education services both in rural and urban areas.
- (viii) Steps for minimising the disparity between conditions in rural and urban areas in respect of social amenities.

GROUP D

TOPIC VII. CULTURAL PROBLEMS.

The Round Table Group D of the Conference discussed Topic VII—Cultural Problems, in three sittings, one on 24 March and two on 25 March 1947, forenoon and afternoon. The plenary session of the Group was held on 27 March 1947. The Chairman of the Round Table was Mr. Phya Anuman Rachathon (delegate, Siam); Vice-Chairman, Sir R. P. Masani (distinguished guest, India); and Rapporteurs, Miss Leilamani Naidu and Mr. K. G. Saiyidain (delegates, India). For the second and third sittings Mr. V. Kupradze (delegate, Georgia) and Dr. Abdul Majid Khan (delegate, Afghanistan) took the Chair respectively as the Chairman was unable to preside.

DISCUSSION

The Group first took up the subject of scientific research. Initiating the discussion a delegate for India said that science was international. No man of science will mix up political feelings with scientific and cultural affairs. Though we have to recognise in Asia that the European and the American worlds have helped us to rise from our slumber in the field of scientific advancement, and we in Asia are grateful to them for this, we cannot at the same time rise to our full stature until we can stand on our own feet. Asia had an abundance of scientific material. From his own experience as a man of science for forty years the delegate could say that India can produce hundreds of men who can compare in their originality and intellectual qualities with scientists of any other nation, and he was prepared to believe that such was true of every Asian country. To reach the full height of recognition, continued the delegate, the Asian countries must in the first place know how to respect themselves. They should stop thinking that a man did not become competent until he was sent up to study in Europe and America. The lesson of the past forty years in the sphere of scientific education had unfortunately been that the wrong people were being sent to the wrong places to study wrong subjects. He had

himself felt bitterly this vicious circle of cultural domination. Every Asian country must build up its own scientific institutions. It can be given to each one of them to become great. The man who devoted himself to science for its own sake, without consideration of money and power, should be found out and encouraged. Such a worker in the cause of science should not be asked to go to foreign countries but afforded facilities to work in his own. The delegate protested against what may be called imitative research. The last century representing the triumph of European science should give place to the renaissance of Asian science.

A delegate for Burma agreed with the above sentiments but said that a small country like Burma needs to build up her educational institutions in order to make her debut to the new scientific development. Burma's greatest difficulty was the scarcity of scientific apparatus much of which had been devastated during the war. They had sent out a deputation to England but no supplies could be obtained from there. He hoped that other countries whose position in this regard was less difficult than that of Burma would help to rehabilitate his country's scientific institutions.

The delegate for India sympathised with Burmese scientific needs and said that even in India most institutions were suffering from shortage of apparatus. But the notion that expensive equipment was necessary for scientific advancement should be given up, he added, and it was perfectly possible to make our own instruments out of whatever materials are available. Instead of depending upon the instrument makers of Europe he believed that for the most expensive equipment from abroad we could make equally efficient ones at cheaper cost out here itself. However, in the matter of teachers India would be delighted to help Burma.

Another delegate for India observed that more attention should be paid in Asia to the actual application of science to larger social and economic problems. While not minimising the importance of fundamental research we should not confine ourselves exclusively or even predominantly to it, he said, but apply research to the problem of raising the standard of living of the ordinary people. In regard to the suggestion that Asia should stand on its own feet in the matter of scientific advancement the delegate said that if

this meant our cutting off scientific connections with Europe and America he would not be a party to the idea of not sending students to these continents. On the other hand if we found facilities outside our countries we should utilise them.

A delegate for Palestine Jews said that it was of the greatest importance that there should be exchange of scientific knowledge through some agency to be formed as a result of this Conference and through the goodwill of the Asian countries assembled in it. It was worth while emulating the example of America and some European countries where the state legally enforces certain copyright books on different institutions. He suggested agreement on exchange of books and journals between different countries and the translation of journals into the respective languages of the exchanging countries.

A delegate for India said that scientific work also depended upon the governmental system of the country. India for example had the geological survey for several years now but still the geological and mineralogical possibilities of India have not been fully explored. It is inevitable that a man of science should draw inspiration from the potential of his own country. Apart from this, said the delegate, altruism should be the supreme principle of science. He wanted the social function of science to be borne in mind ; science should subserve the greatest benefit of humanity. He wanted the pernicious doctrine that science was only the instrument of any particular social or economic system to be discarded. Although he was no less an internationalist than any other, the delegate reiterated his belief that to send Indian students abroad at colossal expense, from where they returned practically useless, was a practice they must stop forthwith. German scientists had broken the custom prevalent in Germany by which unless a man went to Paris he was not considered a scientist.

The Vice-Chairman desired discussion to be focussed on certain specific points and on a practical basis. These points were : What arrangements could be made for joint research by the participating countries ? How could collaboration between universities, learned societies and other literary organisations for translation of outstanding works into different languages be promoted ? How could contacts be established between library centres and museums of

the various countries for the exchange of surplus books, manuscripts, paintings, specimens, etc.? And how best can conferences of experts be organised and expert advice made available to those in need of it?

A delegate for India wanted steps to be taken for the establishment of a science institute for the whole of Asia. Even the smallest country must be given a chance because given adequate facilities it may become pre-eminent. The institute should have a scheme of scholarships to enable at least one student from each Asian country to undergo training in it. Backward countries should have special facilities to benefit from the institute's work.

A delegate for Egypt agreed that people should largely depend upon themselves. But there was always scope for help from neighbours. Egypt for example was terribly short of teachers but had yet helped the neighbouring countries of Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Abyssinia by sending out instructors and scientists to them, sometimes partly at Egypt's own expense.

A delegate for India observed that to expect the Conference to take upon itself the responsibility for starting a number of organisations like, for example, a science institute for Asia was to misapprehend the object of the Conference, which only sought to stimulate thought and promote exchange of ideas between the various countries of Asia. It was for them only to put forward ideas and leave it to those at the helm of affairs to proceed further. A delegate for Ceylon said, however, that the Conference would not be able to achieve anything tangible unless, taking advantage of the support of the various governments assembled, it were to set up an institute for the various purposes suggested during the discussion. If the problem was one of finance the governments might consider aid if an *ad hoc* committee could put forward detailed and reasonable proposals. A delegate for China appreciated the common ground in regard to having an institute but he thought they might make a small beginning in bringing about contacts between Eastern and Western culture. It could be seen later on how such Asian effort at cultural co-operation could be related to international organisations like the UNESCO. We should first have something, he said, upon which to base interchange of ideas. Other delegates from India, Ceylon, China, Palestine, Egypt, Siam and Afghanistan

put forth ideas of academies and institutes in various countries, regional inter-university organisations and a central institute of a federative type. It was mentioned that the Calcutta University in India had recently taken a Chinese professor to study Indian culture and science. It was suggested that a central board should keep in touch with educational institutions in the various countries so that it might collate their hopes and aspirations. In the case of a central institute branches might be usefully established in the capitals of various Asian countries. Non-official academies of scientific workers would be very effective for co-ordination in the field of science. The inter-university boards would correspond with such academies. It was also suggested that if a well-manned and well-equipped voluntary organisation was established in some part of Asia, like India, other countries could benefit by sending deputations of scientific workers to it. It was said on behalf of the Arab world that it was fully prepared to co-operate with such endeavours. The existing academy in China and the Royal Institute of Siam were mentioned as possible constituents of a scheme of scientific and cultural co-operation. The difficulty which Afghanistan experienced in the matter of importing paper and stationery from India for educational and scientific purposes was mentioned and it was hoped that India would assist Afghanistan to obtain supplies for such an essential purpose. The difficulty of equal specialisation by each country of all subjects was also pointed out and it was suggested that countries might specialise in those sciences and arts for which they had the greatest facilities.

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The Chairman (delegate, Georgia) observed that in the matter of scientific research and education it would be wrong to entertain the idea that the people of Asia should renounce the culture of Europe and America and begin a new creation here. They could concentrate on the social functions of science and culture—on the application of the great material and spiritual wealth of Asia. The richness of Asia's intellectual resources made it quite possible for the continent to stand on its own feet, given mutual understanding and co-ordination. He agreed with the proposals that had been brought forward that a permanent Asian institute should be created to facilitate the independent cultural progress of Asia. In a small country like Georgia considerable advance had been recorded since

the Revolution, in education, literacy and institutions for scientific, historical, literary, legal, economic and medical research. This was an example, he said, of how even a small country when it is not prevented from going its way can confidently and quickly stand on its own feet. He endorsed the suggestion that had been made by several delegates earlier that a sub-committee might be set up by the Conference to go into the question of a permanent central institute.

Some discussion followed at this stage on the point of a sub-committee. The Vice-Chairman observed that as the general view was in favour of the establishment of a central agency such an institute might be left to find a constitution for itself. While some delegates insisted on the appointment of and definition of the terms of reference to the sub-committee others opposed such a course. It was then explained by the Secretary of the Conference that the Steering Committee had already appointed a sub-committee to consider the establishment of a central institute. The Chairman added that in order to focus the Group discussion on the items of the agenda they could take the establishment of an Asian institute for granted and proceed with the discussion.

A delegate for China suggested the following in the sphere of inter-Asian cultural exchange and educational co-operation: (i) To organise in all Asian countries cultural associations which would be regarded as equal in status, with a central office for all of them to be located in every Asian country by annual rotation. This central office will in its turn organise the annual conference of the associations in the country of its location for that year. (ii) To exchange professors and students, books and journals. (iii) To hold Asian art and cultural exhibitions.

Other delegates from Burma, India, Egypt, Ceylon and Afghanistan mentioned various points of intellectual co-operation such as the pay bill of professors sent to other countries being borne by the lending countries, free boarding and lodging for students prosecuting studies in an exchange scheme, compilation of a list of authors and literary workers in different countries, preparation of monographs on special subjects, children's excursions to various countries, the evolving of uniform standards in according recognition to university degrees, and scholarships and educational films.

A delegate for Egypt stressed religious education in particular. Culture, he said, cannot be isolated from religion. A Western programme needed to be reorientated for Asia because Asia was the source of religious philosophies and spiritualism. A delegate for Ceylon drew attention to the discrimination practised in certain countries against students from others and pleaded that there should be no differentiation in the matter of collegiate charges. A delegate for India said that the spread of primary education was a crucial matter and should not be lost sight of in our pre-occupation with higher education and research. Some kind of compulsory service for the state should be enjoined on students after completion of their education. Such a drastic step might be necessary to combat illiteracy. However, illiteracy could be tackled only by individual countries. A Nepalese delegate suggested the establishment of an Asian broadcasting station. Delegates also mentioned other media of mass communication like the cinema, the theatre and the press. These should help to inculcate certain fundamental values like respect for the human spirit and devotion to peace. The exultation of its own greatness by a country in the teaching of history to its boys should be stopped as this would tend to create disunity among nations. History needed to be rewritten and the outlook of children changed. Too much importance should not be attached to individual national culture but the unity of all cultures emphasised. The essence of culture lay in the fact of our realising the oneness of mankind.

The Vice-Chairman in summarising the various proposals made during the discussion thus far said that the sub-committee of the Conference would of course deal with them.

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A distinguished guest outlined the objectives of a central Asian institute. It would issue authoritative statements of what constitute Asian culture—its various components. This would be done by a body of experts who would proceed to examine critically Asia's cultural heritage, the impact of various Western civilisations on Asian culture and vice versa, a cultural synthesis based on the various distinctive culture patterns; study the classics and special languages of Asia, simplify the existing scripts and evolve a common script if possible for the ultimate evolution of a common

language ; organise a permanent commission for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments all over Asia and endeavour to find out a medium of communication between the various countries. While one section of the central institute would devote itself to these subjects, another would work out research projects and a third would organise a library. He mentioned in this connection the need for governments to pass suitable legislation for building up a copyright library for all aspects of Asian culture. The institute would also have sections for publications and information. Another distinguished guest added that the development of physical culture was also important for the reconditioning and progress of Asia.

The Group then proceeded to discuss economic, social and political problems in their bearing on culture. A delegate for Georgia explained how the problem of language was tackled in his country and a delegate for Afghanistan drew attention to the lack of facilities for religious instruction in schools. A Ceylon delegate said that children were being instructed in their mother tongue in Ceylon and there was also provision for religious instruction. Delegates for Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan recalled the achievements of their respective Republics in the educational sphere subsequent to the Revolution. Education was free and compulsory in the former Republic and there were work houses for children where they were lodged free. In Uzbekistan education had increased 28 times in schools and the number of school-going children had increased by 57 times. Progress in the field of scientific research and its application was particularly notable and the magnificent irrigation systems of the country were a standing example of this.

A delegate for Egypt said that the demand for education in her country had increased twenty-fold. Education was compulsory and mostly free. In some cases children were asked to be sent to school only at times when they were not required on their farms. Children were also fed free in schools and a great part of the Education Ministry's budget was devoted to free feeding of students. Provision of medical attendance at schools was excellent. The number of training colleges had also increased.

The Group then discussed the question of a common language for Asia. A distinguished guest said that there were more than

2,500 languages in the world and there was clearly need for an international language. Many attempts had been made in Europe to evolve a world language like Esperanto but success had so far been only partial. It was necessary to find a new language because adoption of any existing tongue as the world language might lead to jealousies. He wished a language to be introduced which could be learned in about four months like Basic English. For the proper exchange of professors and students between countries it was necessary that there should be a common world language to overcome the difficulties that would otherwise arise. He thought that this Conference should take up the question through a committee.

A delegate for Georgia said that it would be profitable to see how Russia tackled the language problem. There were about 200 languages in Russia but after the Revolution the Government made it compulsory for people to learn their own vernacular and Russian as the second language. Esperanto was no doubt easy to learn and could be used as a commercial language but it could not replace the vernacular of the people. The use of English as the common language appeared to him to be the only rational course in the circumstances, even though its use might be temporary, until an Asian language was evolved. English, he said, is a language which can adapt itself to the needs of various peoples.

A delegate for India also opined that for the present English should be adopted as the common language. It was a little premature for a conference like this to tackle the idea of a world language. Esperanto may be a constructed language, spoken by specialists; but to expect the assembled delegates, who were not specialists, to go into the question seemed rather unfair to them.

A delegate for Malaya said that English was the language of the elite in Malaya. English was being spoken at present by a large number of Asian countries and so might usefully be used as an international language for the time being. Speaking generally on educational conditions in Malaya the delegate said that Malayan schools coached pupils upto the Senior Cambridge stage. This was the maximum standard available and for collegiate education students had to go to Singapore and foreign countries. There were thus only primary and middle schools in Malaya and Indian schools suffered from a lack of prestige. Referring to religious education the delegate pointed out that in religious instruction in schools

students should be presented with the common principles and points of agreement between all religions. Love for the ultimate and the universal is the common basis of all Asian religions, he said, and by pressing this point home to the students it should be possible to create mutual understanding.

The delegate for Cambodia acknowledged the cultural debt that her country owed to India and said that after many downfalls her country had become conscious of its rôle in the world. Speaking of education in Indo-China the delegate said that schooling was done in two languages and was free. The Government was doing its utmost to encourage school attendance because parents did not see the utility of education if it did not bring back money to them. There was, however, a shortage of teachers available for secondary education. The delegate solicited India's help in the work of educational reconstruction in Cambodia.

Other delegates from India and China spoke again on the need for a common language and felt that though it might not be impossible to evolve a new language—and it was even necessary if the heritage of the English language should not be passed down to future generations—English appeared to be the suitable medium for the present.

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Group D met in plenary session on 27 March 1947. Dr. Abdul Majid Khan (Afghanistan) was elected to the Chair. Before commencing discussion on the report on Cultural Problems the Chairman and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru welcomed the delegations from Viet Nam, the Philippines and Outer Mongolia, and Mr. M. Kamel, the observer for Egypt. Replying to the welcome Dr. Tran Van Luan, leader of the Viet Nam delegation, conveyed the greetings and thanks of the people and Government of the democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the people and Government of India for the invitation to the Conference. The delegation represents, he said, the free and legal Government of Viet Nam under the leadership of President Ho Chi-minh. The people of Viet Nam were ready to co-operate with democratic peoples all over the world. The delegation was very pleased to attend this Conference and hoped that it would bring Asian countries closer.

The leader of the Philippines delegation, Mr. Anastacio de Castro, conveyed on behalf of his fellow delegates and 18 million Filipinos their greetings and best wishes to the Conference. They had come not to present their grievances—they had no grievances even though they were a subject people for more than three centuries—but with open minds and hearts to work for the promotion of culture and harmony. India had been a revelation to them and even from what little they had seen of the country already they felt sure that the security of the Asian people was assured. Mr. de Castro hoped that in the not too distant future the ideal of 'One World' would be realised.

Mr. Norbo Sambu for the Mongolian delegation speaking next conveyed the thanks of the Mongolian Peoples Republic to the organisers of the Conference for their invitation. He was happy that the Conference had been convened at a time when nations are sparing no efforts to establish peaceful co-operation between them and the motto of millions of people the world over is permanent peace and security. The Mongolian people had made a valuable contribution to victory over Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. The conviction was strong in the Mongolian delegation, said Mr. Sambu, that the Conference would play its part in strengthening international understanding and co-operation. Moreover, he was sure that it would aid in the maintenance and development of fruitful scientific and cultural relations among the participating Asian countries.

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The Secretary of the Conference (Dr. A. Appadorai) then made a statement that a meeting of the Steering Committee was held earlier in the day to consider the question whether resolutions could be permitted at the Plenary Sessions of the Conference. At the meeting the minutes of the meeting of the Steering Committee held on 23 March 1947 were read and confirmed. The relevant part of the minutes relating to resolutions was as follows :

"It was agreed that no resolution would be placed or adopted by the Conference but that at each Plenary Session a report embodying the discussions and the consensus of opinion in the Groups should be presented, except possibly in respect of the establishment of a permanent institution for carrying on the work of the Asian Relations Conference."

It was decided, said the Secretary, to confirm again this resolution passed at the last meeting. However, it was pointed out, he added, that this did not preclude the making of any change with general approval in the wording of the reports to make expression more concise and effective.

Dr. Han Lih-wu (delegate, China) said that they would all gladly abide by the decision of the Steering Committee.

The Secretary next announced that the President, Alumni Association, National Council of Education, Bengal, had offered a free studentship to a student from each of the participating countries in this Conference, in the College of Engineering at Jamalpur where the main subjects taught are mechanical, electrical and chemical engineering on the same standard as in any of the American universities. This offer, said the Secretary, arose partly as a result of the discussions of the Cultural Problems Group during which free exchange of students was recommended.

THE REPORT

Mr. George de Silva (observer, Ceylon) said that the Secretary might please convey to the above Association the gratitude of the Asian Relations Conference for this generous offer.

One of the Rapporteurs of the Group, Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, then presented the following report :

It was decided to take up as the first item the question of scientific research and its development and co-ordination in different countries of Asia. In opening the discussion an Indian delegate pointed out how all Asian countries stood to gain from co-operation in the field of science, that science was essentially international and political prejudices should not be allowed to mix up with the appreciation of the scientific and cultural achievements of other peoples. While recognising the debt that Asia owed to Europe and America in the field of science he warned the countries of Asia against remaining tied to the apron strings of the West and against the growing tendency to send students to the West indiscriminately instead of developing their own scientific institutes and training their own teaching personnel. Asia possessed the necessary resources, material and psychological, for doing first rate work in science. Asia must learn to respect itself, to eschew merely 'imitative research' and, throwing off the cultural domination of the

West, it should strive to make its characteristic contribution to the enrichment of world culture.

In the discussion that followed representatives from Burma, India, Ceylon, Palestine, Egypt, China and Siam took part. Some of the important points made in the course of the discussion are summarised below :

A delegate from Burma raised the question of the lack of scientific equipment and apparatus in countries like Burma which have been ravaged by the war and which could not carry on scientific work on that account. It was pointed out in reply by an Indian delegate that a great deal of scientific work could be done with the help of amazingly simple apparatus prepared locally and by the students themselves, and that it was not necessary to rely exclusively on costly Western equipment.

A delegate from Afghanistan suggested that certain restrictions placed on the purchase of paper, stationery and scientific apparatus by the Government of India should be relaxed so far as their use in educational institutions was concerned.

An Indian delegate invited the attention of the Conference to the urgency of relating scientific research dynamically to the vital problems of food, health, sanitation, hygiene and education so as to raise the material and cultural level of the masses. While recognising the importance of developing first rate institutes of science in Asia, he deprecated the idea of our dissociating ourselves in any way from work being done in Western countries in this field, for knowledge and science are, after all, one and indivisible. It was, however, observed by another Indian delegate that this view should not be interpreted to mean that governments had the right to expect immediate practical or commercial results from scientific research.

A member of the delegation for Palestine Jews raised the issue that some suitable agency should be set up to facilitate the exchange of scientific knowledge through books, journals and periodicals, and suggested that important scientific and technical articles should be translated into all Asian languages and published in different countries.

At the instance of the Vice-Chairman, the wider question of Asian collaboration in the different fields of science and culture was then taken up and it was generally agreed that it was desirable to set up a central organisation, with a permanent secretariat, which would explore all practical possibilities of collaboration amongst scientific and cultural workers and institutions, and facilitate the exchange of students, teachers, scholars and books.

It was pointed out by an Indian delegate at this stage that the Steering Committee had set up a sub-committee to draw up a scheme for the establishment of an Asian Institute and that this scheme would be placed before the Steering Committee and the plenary session of the Conference in due course. It might, therefore, be advisable for this Group to appoint a small sub-committee to work in collaboration with the other sub-committee. He also referred to the need for the setting up, if possible, of a School of Asian Studies but cautioned against depending too much on governments which were often apt to work in set grooves and not too willing to receive new ideas. They might, of course, give financial help, but the initiative and general direction should remain in the hands of men of science and culture.

In the ensuing discussion speakers from Egypt, Palestine, China, Ceylon, Burma and India took part and expressed their views and reactions to this important proposal. Opinion was divided whether there should be one or several institutes and whether certain countries should or should not specialise in certain fields of work for which they had special facilities, students from all other countries being sent there for higher studies and research in these fields. Some members also expressed the view that the main function of the Group meetings was to promote intellectual contacts and exchange of ideas and not to concentrate too much on the establishment of one or more institutes. The general consensus of opinion appeared to be that we should not attempt too much at this stage and that, if an effective central organisation could be set up as a result of this Conference, it would be its function to explore further possibilities of inter-Asian co-operation in the fields of science and culture. Reference might be invited in this connection to certain papers submitted to the Conference on the creation of an Institute of Asian Culture and of an All-India Cultural Association for the purpose.

It was generally agreed that one of the first functions of this organisation should be to serve as a live centre of information and exchange of ideas so that good work being done in the various countries could be made known to all interested workers, and their needs in the way of scholars, teachers, books and apparatus could be brought to the notice of relevant authorities and organisations. It should also endeavour to utilise fully, existing institutions and academies like the Inter-University Board in India for this purpose and, where necessary, regional university boards might be set up which could help in making the services of experts available for inspection and advice.

Some members gave actual instances of how intellectual co-operation was already being attempted in different Asian countries on a small scale. In Egypt, in spite of the shortage of teachers for national needs, teachers were being sent out to Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Labanon, Transjordan and Abyssinia, and during their period of deputation they were paid half of their salary by the Egyptian Government. The Calcutta University had recently taken steps to promote cultural co-operation between India and China by appointing a Chinese scholar on its staff and the Government of China had granted scholarships to Indian students for working on Chinese culture and civilisation. It was further pointed out that there was an Academy of Science in China, a Royal Institute of Science in Siam, a Cultural Committee of the Arab League in Egypt and a Central Academy of Sciences was about to be established in India very shortly, and all these organisations were prepared to co-operate with similar central organisations in other countries with the object of pooling their resources for the common good.

Discussion of other cultural problems was then taken up and it was initiated by the Chairman (delegate for Georgia) who read a paper describing the great cultural and scientific progress made in the Georgian Republic since the Revolution of 1917. During this period the earlier policy of colonial and imperialistic exploitation had been reversed and, like other Soviet Republics, this Republic had been able to introduce compulsion in elementary education and to establish a large number of schools, colleges and technical institutes. It was a pleasant surprise to learn that as much as about 70 per cent of the national budget was being spent on educational and cultural activities.

Delegates from Ceylon, Kazakhstan, Egypt, Uzbekistan, Malaya and Cambodia then gave accounts of the educational and cultural progress made in their countries during recent years. These showed that, in spite of many handicaps, there was a great deal of educational consciousness in many Asian countries and, in some of them, marked educational progress had been made. There was a noticeable general tendency to bring education nearer to life, to provide better facilities for children in schools, to improve the training of teachers and to democratise schooling.

Against this bright side of the picture, members of the Indian delegation pointed out that educationally Asia, together with Africa, was on the whole the most backward part of the world where literacy was the lowest and the dissemination of culture to the masses had not been attempted in an organised and scientific manner, and that unless due attention was paid to fundamental education, including both child and adult education, no abiding superstructure of culture could be erected. It was generally agreed that attention to this basic problem was a matter of high priority and that, in addition to schools and other formal agencies of education, the modern media of mass communication like the radio, the cinema, the theatre and the press should be utilised for raising the level of knowledge and culture amongst the masses and the possibilities of inter-Asian co-operation in this field should be fully explored. The following suggestions were made in this connection by delegates from India, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, Palestine and Egypt :

- (i) Collaboration amongst libraries and museums.
- (ii) Translation of classics and other significant works from one language to another.
- (iii) Production of suitable documentary and educational films of common interest.
- (iv) Appointment of teachers of various Asian languages by the countries concerned in other Asian countries.
- (v) Comparative study of Asian cultures at the universities and at the proposed school of Asian studies.
- (vi) Consideration of the equivalence and recognition of university degrees and diplomas.

- (vii) Compilation of pamphlets and memoranda about educational and cultural conditions in different countries.
- (viii) Institution of scholarships and reduction of fees for foreign students.
- (ix) Provision of hospitality to visiting children who come on excursions and free travel and accommodation for language students in the host country.
- (x) The holding of inter-Asian students' conferences.
- (xi) Setting up of an inter-Asian physical culture and education association.
- (xii) The setting up of an Asian broadcasting station.

It was decided to refer these various suggestions to the plenary session of the Conference and the proposed central organisation.

The question of values was then raised by the members of the Indian delegation who stressed the fact that Asia had always cherished certain values as possessing supreme importance and it was essential that these should be critically studied, adapted to modern needs and communicated through education to each succeeding generation, as they were otherwise in danger of being swamped by the aggressively material values of the modern West. It was pointed out that amongst the values held in special esteem in Asia are respect for the human personality, recognition of the primacy of the spirit, the importance of religion in life, faith in the unity of mankind, the kinship of all religions and devotion to peace and creative work. To preserve these values and eradicate some of the suicidal conflicts of the modern age it was necessary to re-write history on rational and humane lines, to link politics with morality, to subordinate the idea of nationalism to the concept of human brotherhood and unity and to develop an active appreciation for the cultures, the religions and the attitude of other peoples. All forms of narrowness, it was asserted, were the negation of the basic concept of Asian culture. It was also suggested that the Conference might well consider the formation of a declaration of its faith and fundamental values. Attention was invited in this connection to several monographs submitted to the Conference by delegates and others on education and culture in Asia.

An Indian delegate then opened the discussion of the problem of an international auxiliary language and gave account of the various attempts that had been made from time to time to evolve a common world language and how they had failed for one reason or another. He expressed the opinion that, as national jealousies would not allow the use of any of the existing languages, the only way out was to 'construct' a language for the purpose and this should be done not by any individual but by an international or Asian committee, possibly by a committee appointed by this Conference. In the discussion that followed, representatives of India, Malaya, Georgia and China took part, but the suggestion to appoint a committee for this purpose did not find general favour. It was agreed that, while it may be possible to construct an artificial language with a simple grammar and vocabulary, it was unlikely to serve the purpose in view and was not in any case an immediate or urgent problem. The general opinion seemed to be that, for the present, we should continue to use English, which was more commonly understood than any single Asian language and which offered the further advantage of being a useful language of intercourse with the Western nations. There was no reason to allow considerations of continental prestige to preclude the use of an available and practical medium for this purpose. Meanwhile, it was also necessary that the study of Asian languages should be encouraged in all countries and an increasing number of scholars, specialists and men of commerce and politics should become conversant with the languages of their neighbouring countries.

Opening the discussion on the report Dr. Alfred Bonn  (delegate, Palestine Jews) said that the introduction of an artificial international language was necessary for three reasons. First, the elimination of national jealousies; secondly, the ease of any artificial language which of necessity must be easier than any living language. It is evident that a nation in possession of a rich language graciously assumes that it is good enough for foreigners too. On the other hand Basic English, for example, is neither basic nor English. Thirdly, if a child in tender age learns a language which he knows is the language of mankind, belonging to no special national group, he will evolve in his tender soul a love and attachment to mankind. That is why, said the delegate, the introduction of an international language is of such great importance. As an adherent of Esperanto he knew that an international language was

fully capable of expressing all shades of thought and sentiment. Dr. Bonné, therefore, requested that the report should draw the attention of a future Asian council to the problem of a new neutral language.

[At this stage H. R. H. Pingpeang Yukanthor (delegate, Cambodia) made a statement to the effect that Indo-China was made up of a certain number of countries for each of which there was a delegate at the Conference. The delegates with whom she was concerned were the group from Cambodia, Cochin China and Laos who represent their respective parts of Indo-China. She could not tolerate that anyone other than these should speak in the name of her country.]

Brahmachari Kailasam (delegate, Malaya) resuming the discussion on the report observed that in the various studies that were proposed to be undertaken, points of agreement and similarities in the different spheres of thought about different cultural expressions of Asian countries should be emphasised. Again attempts should be made to present a synthetic and not merely an eclectic viewpoint in every branch of study.

Miss Leilamani Naidu (delegate, India) contested the suggestion that a new world language will help to foster an universal love of mankind. She asked Dr. Bonné, who had earlier made such a statement, whether he thought that a mere knowledge of a world language could psychologically create love of mankind in a child's heart, when the child neither thinks nor speaks in that language. If it was a utilitarian suggestion that the proposed language would facilitate statesmen understanding each other in international meets, then no language but just monosyllables might be quite sufficient. Miss Naidu wondered if as a psychologist and philosopher Dr. Bonné really thought that a constructed language could generate love of mankind. If a language was not in constant use it did not have much chance of survival and a constructed language would probably be stillborn.

Dr. Bonné observed in reply to Miss Naidu that there was a world organisation of Esperanto in existence and regular contact between children of different countries was maintained through organised correspondence. Children's excursions were actually in vogue for many years among Esperantists all over the world. The

use of this language had implemented love for humanity in the children. It was perhaps not the mere *use* of the language that was responsible for this; but the language is one of the elements to evoke such a feeling in the child.

Mr. J. F. Bulsara (distinguished guest) sought to answer some objections raised thus far against the introduction of a constructed language. Regarding English, he said that after three centuries of its spread the number of people that speak it was about 270 million at the maximum whereas 1,870 million people were entirely innocent of any knowledge of it. He was not particularly an advocate of Esperanto but it was a fact that while languages like English, French, German and Russian take between 6 to 10 years to learn Esperanto requires only 2 years to study. With an extensive vocabulary of nearly a three-quarter million words and with so much of it redundant, it was unlikely that the world would accept English as its medium of expression. Mr. Bulsara thought that it was quite possible to express one's spirit and thoughts effectively in a constructed language. Nor need we laugh at utilitarianism, because we do want to get thoughts across. If the new language is taught not as a principal language but as a secondary one in all schools then one could talk it in any part of the world to which he went. Unless there was restraint on the development of a language it could not become international, and we could put no such restraint on the English language. The English will have their own idioms and we could not stop them doing it. If there was international control on the extension of vocabulary there was no reason why a new language should not become a live language. The more live it becomes the more you use it, said Mr. Bulsara, and that was how we should look at the problem.

Mr. K. G. Saiyidain (delegate, India) said that if the case for an international auxiliary language rested on the need to facilitate international contact then a knowledge of the new language was necessary, not for all the millions of the world but for a comparatively small number of people such as those in politics, commerce and international affairs. There was, therefore, no reason why each and every child should be taught a language described as the language of humanity. Moreover, the burden of language is already heavy in some countries like India and to add one more to the school curriculum would be to make things exceedingly difficult

for the child at that tender age. For the present we should try to utilise the English language for what it was worth.

Mr. A. M. Tambunam (delegate, Indonesia) said that cultural problems can be solved efficiently and sufficiently only in a free and independent state and not under colonial or semi-colonial régimes. Culture in the latter is oppressed and not original. A free state can devise its own culture which is closely connected with the custom, history and circumstances of a nation. Culture is the revelation of the spirit of man and the revelation of spirit needs freedom. A free state can make culture productive and constructive. Language and exchange of students and professors, necessary as they are, seemed to him to be of secondary importance.

A delegate for Ceylon said that in the Group discussions problems of art and architecture did not receive enough attention. Exchange of pictures with neighbouring countries was a useful avenue to promote good relations and when an Asian institute is organised we should, through its agency, facilitate the transport of pictures to countries where exhibitions are held. Another point was that Asian countries were now dependent on Western journals to keep in touch with progress in the field of architecture. There should therefore be some journal that will record progress made in each country in art and architecture and such information should be disseminated to various countries.

A delegate for the Philippines drew the attention of the plenary session to the question of the freedom of the Press. The Press was by far the most important medium for the expression of views. We are apt to take the newspaper too much for granted, but we should pause to look into the human element behind it. The people who staff the Press deserve the attention of the world, because on them depends the news that enlighten us. When the Press is polluted the thoughts of the people must of necessity be polluted. The newspapermen work on a salary basis and the owners are those with the power of money behind them. The latter go into journalism not for the love of it but for the profit they make out of the industry. Unless newspapers are staffed by men who are economically independent and who are not subservient, what hope could we have for the progress of mankind, asked the delegate, and pleaded that the Conference should give some thought to these men who perform a task of fundamental importance.

Mrs. A. R. Nilam (delegate, Ceylon) spoke on the importance of nursery education in the scheme of cultural advancement. When excursions are arranged for children and they stay in homes at the visiting centres we should ensure that these homes are suited for the purpose by a greater co-ordination of educational, health and general social services. Besides, we must educate ourselves. It is a pity, said Mrs. Nilam, that more attention has not been paid to the nursery foundation of education. We should see that children do not learn anything which will endanger their safety and the safety of their country. The new generation should be made more and more fit to take its place in the Asian institute of their future. There should thus be both a psychological basis and a nursery foundation for the system of education.

The plenary session then adopted the Rapporteurs' report on Topic VII.

GROUP E

TOPIC VIII. STATUS OF WOMEN AND WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

The Round Table Group E of the Conference discussed Topic VIII—Status of Women and Women's Movements, in two sittings on 30 March 1947, forenoon and afternoon. The plenary session of the Group was held on 2 April 1947. The Chairmen of the Round Table for its two sittings were respectively Madam Safiyeh Firouz (delegate, Iran) and Madam Paz Policarpio Mendez (delegate, the Philippines); Vice-Chairmen, Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Lady Rama Rao and Mrs. Renuka Ray (delegates, India); and Rapporteurs, Miss Leilamani Naidu and Mrs. Hannah Sen (delegates, India).

DISCUSSION

After messages to the Conference from women leaders and workers from several Asian countries were read out, a delegate for India initiated the discussion on women's movements. Women's problems, she said, are not something apart from the general social

problem. Asia has not very much to show in the nature of a feminist movement as part of or in opposition to a general movement in the country. There are historical as well as objective reasons for this. Many Asian countries have developed in such a way that the better status which their women enjoyed in olden days and the status of equality which the countries themselves enjoyed have determined the present trend in them. We realise both on historical knowledge and from experience that to a large extent the position of women in a given society is determined by the pattern of that society. We know that in a reactionary society the position of certain sections as well as that of women suffers. When the progressive forces come to the fore and there are big social upheavals the position of women improves in particular. Society is not static; a dynamic society rises and falls and these are also reflected in the position of its women. Such phenomena have been observed not only in Asia but the world over. Even in advanced Europe enjoying a large measure of political and economic freedom there has latterly been a setback and reactionary forces have affected the status of women. Germany and Central Europe stand particular witness to this trend. There have also been countries where women have had enormous opportunities for coming forward and taking part in national affairs without this necessarily prejudicing their traditional position in society. Japan is a prominent case in point, said the delegate, where women have come to occupy a strategic position in public affairs without commensurate change in either their political rights or traditional status. But generally social upheavals have resulted from political movements or economic crises. It has been so in southern Europe, for example. We might begin with Spain and move on to France, where after the last resistance movement women have been enabled to acquire those rights that had long been denied them. This might in brief serve as a background for women's movements in Asia today. In Asia we have one common factor running right through our countries, which is that the political upheaval that they have been passing through has affected the economic and social phases of their development. On the basis of this conclusion drawn from a study of social trends, said the delegate, women's problems are really on a par with other aspects of national affairs. This should also make us realise, she added, that we cannot function in isolation and that our interests are bound up with the social movement in other countries. The more we take cognisance

of forces in every country the better will be the position not only of women but of all those who have been handicapped and held back in society for a variety of reasons. She did not think it was necessary to repeat the common factors ; but if the delegates would outline the striking features of the women's movements for the Group's consideration it would provide the proper background for the discussion later of the status of women. What was needed was a brief idea of the movements in relation to national and social affairs.

A delegate for the Philippines said that it was a matter of pride that in the Philippines women had always held a high position. Although this was fostered by both it was not an offshoot of either the war or of American rule. Even before the coming of the Spanish, women were placed on a footing with men in the matter of inheritance. The rulers consulted their queens in matters of state, and marriage was on the basis of mutual consent. Actually the coming of the Spanish prejudiced the cause of women because the former imposed their laws on Filipino society. Most of these laws are still in existence, said the delegate, and instanced the case of a married woman being subject to her husband in the matter of conjugal property. The husband was the administrator and could dispose of it without the wife's consent. However, the Philippine legislators desired change and would rather codify Filipino custom and tradition rather than follow the laws inherited from the Spanish. A committee was appointed before the war to suggest ways and means of such codification as well as the changes that needed to be effected in respect of laws affecting women. The Japanese invasion interrupted the work of this committee, said the delegate, but it was hoped that the reforms that were widely desired would soon be worked out. In educational opportunities Filipino women are probably the most advanced in the orient. About 55 per cent of the population is literate and about 16 per cent of it is at schools. Half the number of pupils in schools are girls. Educational and political rights are equal to men and women. Literacy is the common qualification for both of them to exercise the vote. Women's organisations which are quite numerous are particularly interested in legal reform and social work. There is a religious organisation called the Catholic Women's League. There is also a league of women to educate the people on various public issues. With this league are associated women writers who

look after the interests of their profession and see to it that women writers are given the same opportunities as men. The extension of suffrage to women in the Philippines is an outstanding example of their consciousness to women's political rights. At the time the Commonwealth Constitution was framed a provision was made in it that women could be enfranchised if suffrage was demanded by at least 300,000 of them. Thanks to the large-scale campaign that the National Council of Women launched to invoke this provision, it was possible to get 500,000 women to ask for suffrage. There is now a woman as elected member in the legislature and for the first time women are thus taking direct part in the nation's politics.

A delegate for Egypt observed that the status of women had suffered several setbacks during her country's long history of foreign invasions. With the coming of the Muslims women's rights were restored to them including the right of inheritance and free disposal of personal property without answerability to husband or father. But again during certain Islamic periods women's status suffered a setback and during the fourteenth century there was a ruler who forbade the making of shoes with the result that for seven long years—so history records—no woman was seen in the streets of Cairo. The only education women received was at the hands of old men who generally undertook the work of teaching. Real progress in modern history was recorded during the rule of the grandfather of the present King who was well known for his progressive ideas. It was he who abolished slavery and improved the condition of women. He started a girls' school and at his behest his childless wife occupied herself with teaching the pupils in it. But three-quarters of a century ago this school lacked students and the Queen had to send her own palace girls to receive education here in the three R's and domestic science. Soon after the demand for education increased and the present strength of this historic institution, of which the delegate herself was the headmistress, was 1,300. In the matter of political rights, continued the delegate, a bill pending before the Egyptian Senate sought to extend the vote to elder women. But the women's movement in Egypt has never suffered for lack of sympathy or support in parliament where eminent members have always readily espoused the cause of women. Education and social work have, however, been looked upon as the primary things that should be tackled by the

women's movement and they were busy working to eradicate illiteracy and fight such evils as under-nourishment.

A delegate for Ceylon spoke on the welfare work undertaken by women's associations in her country and their achievements in recent years. The Federation of University Women, said the delegate, maintains regular publication of its activities. There is a social service league with headquarters in Colombo. The organisation of this draws from all communities and groups and the league works primarily for the betterment of women's diet. The welfare section of the league has branches in the thickly populated areas of the towns. There is a village industrial training school where over a hundred girls take training in handicrafts and earn a living from it. Among the other associations are the Muslim Women's League, Girl Guide Association and the Women's Franchise Union. The last was founded in 1927 and in the following year the first woman member was elected to the State Council. There is also an international organisation in Ceylon whose main activity is the regeneration of rural women. This organisation works through a network of 78 branches in all parts of the Island. Members live in villages among their women and help raising them to a higher standard of living. The annual expense on this scheme is about Rs. 30,000 and the Government subsidises the organisation to the extent of a quarter of this amount. This national movement is thus spreading the message of a new and better life in the whole of rural Ceylon.

A delegate for Palestine Jews drew attention to the anomaly of the voting system in Palestine's Jewish sector, by which women in some cases forfeited the right to vote by an accident of residence in certain unenfranchised areas. There is, however, no bar to women aspiring to any political or administrative post in the community. Women's institutions engaged in systematic social welfare work grew up after World War I. Realising that there can be no agricultural revival in the community unless women are also given proper training in agricultural methods, the Council of Women has organised a collective farm exclusively for women. Working mothers have their children taken care of when they are engaged in work. Travelling instructors tour villages and instruct women on proper diet,, assisted by many model hostels.

A delegate for China said that during the past forty years the women's movement in her country was part of the general social movement. Throughout the country's history Chinese women have taken quite an important part in politics and literature, but with the Chinese Revolution women undertook the dual responsibility of working for the renaissance of their nation under the inspiration of Sun Yat-sen as well as fighting for their own rights. Newspapers and magazines for women have been in vogue since the beginning of this century. The youth movement of 1919 further stimulated the women's movement in China and schools and colleges adopted co-education. The Kuomintang had declared that 'women's rights should be protected and developed politically, economically, socially and educationally.' A nine-point resolution had recognised equality of the sexes before the law, women's right to inherit property, protection of women escaping from forced marriages, freedom of marriage and divorce, determination by law of female labour and wages, education of women, education of female labourers and agriculturists, asylums for orphans and opportunities for employment for women. On the initiative of Madam Chiang Kai-shek in 1938 the Women's Advisory Council was formed with departments for training, culture, livelihood, relief, children's welfare, rural services, etc. During World War II the National Chinese Women's Association took to war relief work and those who were unable to escape into national territory took to fifth-column activities against the Japanese. The Chinese Constitution, said the delegate, recognises equality of the sexes. The biggest women's organisation in China today is the Women's League. Chinese women try their utmost to help themselves. They are paying increasing attention to the technical training of their sisters, especially in nursing and handicrafts.

The Group at this stage accepted the suggestion of an Indian delegate that as there was not enough time to have full reports of women's activities in the various countries, a questionnaire should be sent out to them through their delegations at the Conference and information acquired on activities in different departments of life in each country.

A delegate for Malaya said that the awakening of Malay women was a recent phenomenon. Organised education even in the vernacular started as late as the 'twenties and English education

was even later. In spite of this late start Malay girls have taken to higher education in large numbers. The women of Malaya are very receptive to modern ideas, said the delegate, and Japanese occupation taught Malay women for the first time that they could not ignore the activities of other peoples in their own country or outside. The organised protests of Malay women against the MacMichael Treaties shortly after the British re-occupation of Malaya was evidence of their patriotic fervour. There was at present a scheme to start a college for Malay women where it was hoped to provide them with higher education based on their own tradition and culture.

A delegate for Burma recounted the gallant part played by Burmese women during the recent war both in guerilla activities and in organising medical relief. She expressed the determination of the women of Burma to be with their men in their onward march to progress. An observer for Bhutan said that in her country women were equal to men in status. Educationally Bhutanese women were very backward with the result that they took little part in government or in the social services. They were good at agriculture, however, and exceptionally clever at weaving.

A delegate for Indonesia said that under Dutch rule Indonesian women suffered from double slavery. They were bondwomen to their lords at home. With poor means parents concentrated education on boys; to get married was the only privilege of the girls. National consciousness was aroused some years before World War I when under the inspiration of Kartini—the pioneer of the Indonesian women's movement—many women's organisations took birth. A number of schools for girls, called Kartini schools, were established. Four Indonesian Women's Congresses have so far been held, in 1928, 1930, 1935 and 1941. Among the subjects discussed were the problem of illiteracy among women, the position of women labourers, the legal status of women in Islam, women's suffrage, and traffic in women and children. In 1928 passive suffrage was extended to Indonesian women for the town councils and in 1941 the Dutch Government conceded active suffrage too. During the war the status of women suffered a setback owing to the Fascist philosophy of woman's inferiority. Subsequent to the establishment of the Republic, however, the women's movement has regained its rightful place in the country. Even military training is now

organised to women in order to enable them to face any emergency. A committee of experts of the Indonesian Women's Congress has now been formed to guide and advise women's organisations throughout Indonesia.

A delegate for India said that basically there was not much difference between women's movements in the various Asian countries. Notwithstanding differences in detail Asia presents a favourable background of women enjoying equal or nearly equal opportunities and in various degrees making good use of the opportunities that are open to them. In modern times women have had to fight for the larger principle of freedom. They have fought and achieved freedom and naturally they must have an equal share with men in the fruits of it. Certain anomalies exist and are obvious in Indian society at present. Foreign rule was a handicap to us because of the interpretation it put on our ancient laws while codifying them. Conflicts have arisen over such interpretation where textbooks have been invoked in support of those who sought to expound the meaning of these laws. Society being fluid and taking different shape from time to time to meet the varying needs of its members, the question now is one of interpreting the laws of society in the latter's modern context. Have we not been repeatedly asked why reservation of seats in legislative bodies or additional rights is thought necessary for women in India in the present conditions? Every women's organisation in India has on principle protested against the inequality of status that is implied in such concessions. They are unhealthy and violate the principle of equality between the sexes. These things are of particular importance to us today because Asian countries are engaged in framing new constitutions for themselves. They affect the very structures that are being built right now and therefore not only should we collaborate on such questions but draw inspiration and example from one another.

One thing that has been pointed out during the discussion, continued the delegate, is that national political freedom is a fundamental point which no woman can afford to ignore. Bitter experience has taught us that the absence of freedom inevitably causes complete economic and social deterioration; and such social decay finds reflection in the status and position of women. Those women who assume that politics are not near them should realise this sequelae,

The transition from colonial to national economy that must follow national freedom is of equally immense importance to women, because in a way the economic condition of society weighs more heavily on women. Where economic standards are low and for the majority life is a drudgery women suffer both from bad standards of work outside and low standards of living at home. The impression that women need concern themselves only with such matters as rights of inheritance and representation is erroneous, because far more important is the economic structure of society which should ensure to every citizen the minimum human comfort, economic security, healthy living, adequate opportunities for work, and proper wages under a stable economy. Could equality have any meaning, asked the delegate, to people who do not get a full meal a day? Such are the principles which determine our clear objective. They cannot become departmentalised. When society is not based upon them the situation is clearly a deviation from our objective. We who want equality, said the delegate, must work for a society that embraces these principles. Even when we talk of equality in a legal sense we presuppose a democracy which ensures civil liberties for every one. Equality without civil liberties can only be a means of slavery and suppression.

The concept of equality and civil liberty should take into consideration women who work at home—those that do domestic work. Today there is a feeling in society, said the delegate, that because man goes out to work in an office or factory and draws a salary or wage he is entitled to the first charge on it. The idea that the woman who works in the house is equally entitled to it is rarely remembered. There are at present two proposals with regard to this matter. The first is to compensate woman for the work she does at home in the form of family allowances, and the second is to provide facilities for work for them to become wage earners. These are the principles which she would place before the Group for discussion as being desirable for administrations to adopt in order that women's rights might be assured. The position of women concluded the delegate, is therefore inextricably determined by the social, economic and political order in which they live.

The Chairman said that the position of women against the background of national, political and economic freedom was the basis of discussion in the Group and from these one could proceed to the

details. Law should be the first consideration because it is the women who suffer the greatest handicap under the laws of countries. India suffered under England's impositions and the religious laws, she said, and the Philippines under Spanish laws. While there should be equality before law for the sexes, in some countries no such equality exists. She suggested that the Group might, therefore, proceed to discuss the legal status of women. As a matter of principle there should be no discrimination between sons and daughters in the matter of inheritance except in cases where women earned for themselves and in the matter of their self-acquired property.

A delegate for India explained that the position of Hindu women in regard to inheritance was unsatisfactory. In the matter of the inheritance of the mother's property the order of priority in India is the daughter, the daughter's daughter, the daughter's son, and the son. Thus the son does not inherit the mother's property so long as the mother is survived by any of the others in the order of priority. In regard to general family property until recent years the daughter was not eligible for a share of it if there was a son. But now they were trying to provide that the daughters also shall inherit. Men born in the family and women entering it by marriage form one family, but when it came to division of property it was not the women that took any share but men alone—nor have surviving widows any share in it. In marriage, said the delegate, there are great differences between various castes in the country. Marriages must take place within the caste and no Hindu of one caste can marry a Hindu of another caste except under civil marriage in which case union is legalised before a registrar and there is provision for divorce. The law with regard to civil marriages dates back to 1872 and excludes the Buddhist, Jain, Muslim, Christian and Jewish groups in India. Recommendations have now been made to the Government of India, said the delegate, for reform of the Hindu law and legislation is awaited.

A delegate for Burma observed that though foreign domination had imposed certain inequalities on women the legal status of women in Burma was in former times actually better than in any country of Europe or Asia. Thus Burma owed largely to India from whose humanising influence and from Buddhism Burma had greatly benefited. In regard to inheritance men and women inherit

in exactly the same way in Burma, though the eldest child in the family inherits a slightly larger proportion than the other children. But this applies whether the eldest child be boy or girl. The money which both the man and his wife bring into the marriage is joint property. The earnings of the house are also joint property even though the man might be the sole earner. If a marriage breaks up the woman takes away the money she had brought into it and in addition she takes half the share of the joint income accumulated during the period they were married, though the husband might have been the sole earner. However, if the share brought into the marriage by the wife had been spent away by mutual consent during the period then of course the money was gone. The husband could not dispose of any part of the joint property without obtaining his wife's signature to the transaction. The delegate suggested that similar laws be framed in Asian countries without reference to custom or caste.

A delegate for China said that in China on the death of a man his property goes to his widow and on the widow's death it is divided in equal shares between the children though the eldest male among them gets a little more than the rest.

A delegate for Palestine Jews observed that in Palestine sons and daughters inherit family property in equal shares. Property belongs to the person in whom it is registered. The wife's property continues to be hers and the husband's his. There is, however, a movement now to register property, including leases and contracts, in the names of both the husband and wife. In certain cases marriage contracts permit divorce but generally specify that a certain amount of money shall be paid to the wife in such cases. Generally speaking, said the delegate, there is not much property at marriage and couples acquire it only in due course. An Indian delegate pleaded for the wife's control of the money she brings into the marriage and the husband's control of the money he had before the marriage, but for equality of rights with regard to property earned after the marriage. The difficulties involved in evolving any formula of joint control of property were pointed out by many delegates who maintained that it would be very unfair to men if women were to claim control of the property the men had before the marriage while refusing to allow the latter to have any control over the property which women took into marriage; that in the

absence of proper arrangement the property of women without issues would go to the husband's relatives instead of the wife's; that it would again be unfair if women claimed a share of men's property but denied him a share in what she brought into the union. But it was suggested that some difficulties could be got over by the woman giving away the property to whomsoever she likes and that the hardships would not be considerable because earnings from the wife's property would be shared by the husband too.

The Group then proceeded to discuss marriage and divorce. An Indian delegate observed that they were all opposed to polygamy and polyandry. It was agreed that the minimum age for marriage should be 18 for girls and 21 for boys if the marriage was to be without the consent of the parents, and 16 for girls and 18 for boys if it was to be with the consent of the parents. Several delegates then described the conditions of divorce obtaining in their respective countries. It was revealed that in Burma divorce is possible by mutual consent and the same is the case in Tadjikistan, Palestine and China. In Tadjikistan the percentage of divorce is very low and in Palestine the courts generally put off the decision for three to six months to enable the couple to get reconciled. In Iran, however, divorce was extremely difficult for the wife to get except by offering huge sums of money to the husband. It was the general opinion of the Group that in the matter of obtaining divorce the same grounds should be conceded to both men and women.

The Group then agreed that there should be universal adult franchise and equal opportunities for both sexes in the matter of the professions, educational facilities, public services etc.

The Group finally discussed possibilities of co-operation. A delegate for India strongly pleaded for an organisation separate from the permanent organisation contemplated by the Conference for the purpose of maintaining contacts already established. She was afraid that if this work was entrusted either to the Conference's successor body or to the body that sponsored the Conference its purpose might be defeated. A delegate for Indonesia expressed herself against the establishment of a purely Asian body and recommended linking up with the Women's International Democratic Federation. It was, however, proposed that women join the permanent organisation of the Asian Relations Conference and not

function separately, that the Asian Women's Conference be revived, and that a liaison committee be established with representatives of Asian women from various countries on it.

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Group E met in plenary session on 2 April 1947. Dr. (Mrs.) H. Soebandryo (Indonesia) was elected to the Chair. One of the Rapporteurs of the Group, Miss Leilamani Naidu, then presented the following report :

THE REPORT

Telegraphic messages from women of seven Asian countries, including Japan, were welcomed by the Group as a token of the orient-wide interest and response evoked by the Asian Relations Conference.

Elected to initiate the discussions, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya suggested a three-fold path of approach: (i) a sketch of the historical background to women's movements in the East; (ii) brief narratives of these modern movements with their remote and immediate causes, their purposes and achievements; (iii) a co-operative finding of the deep, vital principles through which future forms of social order may unfold as satisfying contexts of life and living for women in Asian lands.

In an introductory survey of the topic as a whole, the initiator emphasised the salient points for thought in each of the given categories.

I. Historical Background: In the first discourse, her contention found general acceptance that, in Asia, there have not developed to any appreciable degree feminist movements on the Western model either as part of, or in opposition to, a general movement in the country. The historical reason was that, in olden days, Asian women had enjoyed a better status than they did at present, and their position—reflecting the very pattern of society, was later debased or re-elevated in rhythm with the fall or rise of the society itself within which they dwelt.

Substantiating the point, delegates from China, Egypt, the Philippines and Ceylon spoke of the queens unrivalled in power, women wise in state-craft, women writers, poets, patriots and philosophers, each leaving, in indelible hues, the impress of her

image upon the ancient annals of her land. Long periods of alien domination, warping the economic structure and shattering the political integrity of their countries, had robbed women of their high estate and tended to turn them into unfunctioning citizens, expressionless dependants, and wageless workers in the home. It was further revealed how, to the women of such countries as Burma, Indonesia and Malaya, already bowed beneath the inequalities imposed by immemorial customs and traditions, foreign invasions had spelt a double slavery.

II. Women's Movements: That the main women's movements in the East were directly inspired or greatly vitalised by the dynamic forces of political and economic upheavals was strongly emphasised by the representatives of all delegations participating in the discussion. They referred in detail to women's significant contribution to the modern Revolutions in their countries, violent and non-violent, for the removal of tyrannical régimes. Illustratively, in 1919, Egyptian women, with only their delicate veils as helmets, marched through the streets in thousands in defiance of British guns. In the beginning of this century Chinese women had numbered among the armed revolutionaries of Sun Yat-sen who transformed an Empire into a Republic. From their work for the renaissance of the nation they were summoned again, in 1937, to the war front, to underground activities, to factories, fields and hospitals on the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities. In India's long, grim struggle for national independence, multitudes of women strove in fellowship with men, suffered, and even died, in prisons as victims of imperial aggression at all stages of the Gandhian movement. The heroism of Russia's women, in the air and on the battle fields, helped to save the world from Fascist overlordship. Burmese women gallantly participated in guerilla warfare, and in the infant Republic of Indonesia women were voluntarily undergoing military training in preparation for incalculable emergencies and events.

It was pointed out that in a variety of other ways less spectacular, such as the organising of medical relief, self-denial in food and clothing, the carrying on of civilian work and protective care of the younger citizens, the women of Asian countries had actively assisted in clearing the ground for the erection of new orders of society.

Delegates bore testimony to the fact that the evils of the *pardah* system were being defeated not by any cold and calculated design but by the invincible will of oriental women, determined to let no social custom or stricture prevent their total dedication to a national cause. In 1923, the Egyptian women, inspired by the courageous act of their greatest leader, swiftly began to cast their own veils aside. In 1937, the women of Iran, emerging by royal decree from the black shrouds that had covered their faces for over ten centuries, emerged also from the dark slumbers of the mind and spirit held in bondage for a thousand years.

Views were concordant with the assertion that the national struggle for freedom in Asian lands has created in Asian women a dual recognition: (i) Out of the pain and sacrifice, the turmoil and despair of national struggles has arisen women's consciousness of their own destiny as being bound up, inextricably, with the historic destiny of their lands; (ii) from the eventual triumph and glory of the struggles has grown an awareness in the minds of women of their own value as indispensable factors in the progressive realisation of national ideals.

The main objectives, therefore, of all women's movements in the East are: (i) Service to the country through organised efforts to promote the educational, social, political and economic interests of its people, particularly the poor; (ii) the removal of all inequalities, restrictions and disabilities imposed upon women by virtue of custom, religion or law.

Delegates from eleven Eastern countries reviewed at length the work and achievements of their women's organisations, whilst the Tadjikistan representative claimed that the Republic's Constitution ensures for women equal rights with men in all spheres of life, and the state provides for the fullest mental development and material well being of all its citizens. Special attention, however, was paid to children, liberal laws existed for maternity leave, and the mothers of large families received allowances.

III. A. Education, etc.: As it had been officially announced that the subjects of educational and employment opportunities, economic and social problems, health and welfare were to be discussed at a joint session with Group C, only passing reference was made to them in Group E. It was, however, decided to adopt the

principle of 'equal opportunities for both sexes in matters, among others, of professions, educational facilities and governmental service.' It was also found imperative to stress the tragically low percentage of literacy, especially among women, in the majority of Eastern countries, and the need of pressing for the immediate introduction of free, basic education on an universal scale.

The delegates from Palestine and Ceylon underlined the importance of securing for women adequate training in agriculture. Ceylonese women had dedicated themselves to village service and had helped to shape for Ceylon a new concept of nationhood based on the national awakening of her vast rural population. Women leaders of the Hebrew community in Palestine, recognising the paramount significance of agriculture in the revival of the country and of women's essential rôle therein, had established an agricultural collective farm where all the work was done exclusively by women. Their organisation freed married women for this work by taking care of their children, and it also sent instructors to the villages to guide rural women in matters of proper diet.

It was stated that co-educational institutions were popular in China and Iran and that, in the latter, sports, industrial training and arts and crafts were prominent features of the educational system.

The belief of the Filipinos was that their women were educationally the most advanced in the orient; and it was admitted that among the most backward were those of Malaya and Bhutan.

The Group affirmed the idea that the necessary pre-condition to a large-scale adoption of professions, entry into services and tenure of high administrative posts, opportunities for which amply exist for most Asian women, was a substantial increase and a proper utilisation of facilities for general education, technical training and the acquisition of specialised knowledge.

[Note: The suggestion of an Indian delegate was here accepted that, for further details regarding the activities of women's organisations in Asia, a questionnaire be circulated and the material compiled for general information.]

B. *Legal* : Guiding discussion on to the legal status of women, Mrs. Kamaladevi reminded the Group that, (i) for the adoption of social and other legislation, national freedom was a necessary pre-requisite ; and (ii) since the economic prosperity of the nation was reflected in the house, the economic equality of men and women could only be assured by a democratic form of government guaranteeing civil liberties alike to all.

1. Considerable time was devoted to analysing the variations in the legal status of women in India, China, Burma, Palestine and the Philippines. It was finally agreed that :

- (i) there should be absolute legal equality between men and women ;
- (ii) the principle of absolute equality should operate in all matters pertaining to inheritance. (In Burma and the Philippines men and women inherit in exactly the same way ; nor is there any radical differentiation made in China. In India and Iran there is inequality of inheritance rights between the sexes) ;
- (iii) there should be joint guardianship of the children. (In Iran, it was explained, the husband as *paterfamilias* has absolute control of the child after the seventh year) ;
- (iv) codes based on national rather than on community interests should be introduced in all Asian countries where they do not exist.

2. In regard to *joint control of property*, one school of thought postulated the idea that properties acquired *before* marriage should be retained as personal possessions by the wife and husband, the income derived from such properties *after* marriage being jointly controlled by the pair. The other proposal was that all properties and incomes acquired before as well as after marriage should be under joint control.

3. Marriage and Divorce : In the consideration of the different laws relating to marriage and divorce, the following reforms were advocated :

- (i) Abolition of polygamy and polyandry.

(ii) Fixing the minimum age for marriage, *with* the consent of the guardians, at 18 for boys and 16 for girls, and raising the ages to 21 and 18 respectively in the event of marriage *without* the guardians' consent.

(iii) Conceding the same grounds for divorce to women as are conceded to men.

4. Franchise : Turning to the question of franchise, it was found that in Iran, Egypt and Malaya women had been accorded no political rights ; that among the Hebrew women of Palestine the right to vote did not extend beyond the boundaries of Jewish municipalities ; and that, even in countries like India, China, Burma, the Philippines, Bhutan and Indonesia where women shared political rights entirely or to a very large measure with men, there were certain undesirable features and anomalies which needed to be removed. It was agreed that for the full democratisation of all Asian countries the principle of universal adult franchise should be given active recognition without delay.

IV. *Association of Asian Women* : For a closer association between the women of all Asian countries various modes of contact for the future were proposed :

- (i) The revival of the All-Asian Women's Conference of which the only session was held in India in 1931.
- (ii) The formation of a Liaison Committee of Asian women representatives.
- (iii) The inviting of women leaders in the East to national conferences of women in different countries.
- (iv) The affiliation of Asian women's organisations to local units of the permanent organisation that was likely to materialise by the desire and determination of all the delegates present at this first session of the Asian Relations Conference.

In conclusion, the representative of the Philippines voiced the hope that lies deep in the heart of all Asian people, that, moving beyond the dawn of its own freedom, Asia may lead the 'One World,' united and at peace, up to the manifold stars.

DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT

Opening the discussion on the report a delegate for Palestine Jews said that women have the same rights as men within the Jewish community in Palestine, though political rights are themselves limited owing to the absence of parliamentary institutions in the country. She felt that the elucidation of this point in the report was not quite exact.

Daw Saw Yin (delegate, Burma) wished that the report should make particular mention of the fact which she stressed during the Group discussions, namely, that women in Burma suffered from no disabilities whatever, whether political, social or legal. She did not claim that the Burmese had adequate political rights but all the same there was no discrimination between men and women in whatever rights exist. Socially, polygamy and polyandry do not exist in Burma, she said, and within the bounds of respectability Burmese society does not accept them. But of course it cannot be denied, she added, that both these institutions manifest natural human instincts with some people which is the reason why we continue to see them in the world. Saying that she wanted to speak a heresy, (because out of heresy had always come progress) the delegate observed that she did not approve of women's organisations. In a healthy and properly organised society there was no need for them. When she was asked what women's organisation she represented and she replied that there are no women's organisations in her country, she felt she was looked upon as a somewhat peculiar specimen. She had respect for women's organisations in other countries and they have been necessary in certain societies. Nevertheless, she thought that they ought to strive not merely to achieve the privileges they have wished for, but also for the elimination of the necessity for women's organisations. It seemed to her that women's organisations are rather like subversive political bodies in countries under foreign domination where the latter have perforce to work underground and are, therefore, unhealthy in character. These political organisations concentrate so much on the disabilities enveloping them that they tend to lose sight of the broader objective they might hope to achieve. It is the same thing in the case of women's organisations because the domination of one sex over another in certain societies has tended to keep them preoccupied exclusively with their own disabilities. At a time of the reawakening of Asia, said the delegate, we should

turn our eyes away from their gaze on women's disabilities. We should shed inferiority complex. She did not, therefore, approve the idea either of a separate section for women in the proposed Asian institute or of two institutes, one for men and the other for women. She would like to see, she said, an institute in which both men and women are completely represented, and concluded by quoting Shakespeare's lines: 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves that we are underlings.'

Mrs. Hansa Mehta (delegate, India) said that, much as she agreed with the Rapporteurs' brilliant report, there were difficulties arising out of customs which are practised in the name of religion. The right to worship and to practise any religion is one of the fundamental rights that are nowadays talked about. Does the right to practise religion include also the right to practise the various customs which claim the sanction of religion? If it did, one could not interfere with polygamy, *purdah* or child marriage. This was a particularly pertinent question to ask, said the delegate, because when a Monogamy Bill was introduced in the Bombay Legislature sometime ago the applicability of its provisions had to be restricted to Hindus as Muslims claimed exemption from them on the ground that their religion sanctioned polygamy. Mrs. Mehta therefore wished to have the clear opinion of the Conference on the question whether religion as a fundamental right meant only the right of belief and worship or embraced also the custom built on them.

Mr. Haji A. Salim (observer, Indonesia) said that in talking about politics and religion we should be careful not to start controversies. Freedom of religion means that we must not oblige people to do things forbidden by religion and not forbid people from doing things which they are obliged to by their religion. Polygamy is not a duty and the law of a country based on democratic principles can put limits to it. The custom of a country grows out of its social life and we must take care to preserve every kind of freedom. It was not, therefore, necessary to pose the question of religious practice as an obstacle to sound legislation as demanded by women. Referring to the desirability or otherwise of the movements for women's rights, the delegate said that merely because women demand the right to engage in the same work with men in political and social fields it does not mean that there are things which women can and will do for themselves, even as

there are things which men can and will do for themselves. But in the case of a movement against polygamy, for example, men and women should work together. It is not a thing for women alone because no man can ever take a second wife without a woman being willing to take him in spite of his first wife ; on the other hand, in countries where polyandry prevails there is a man involved when a woman takes a second husband in spite of her first. The justification for the existence of separate women's movements is analogous to the case for regional organisation even in 'One World'. The mere belief in the principle of world equality does not obviate the need for these so long as the principle is yet to be achieved. Similarly, the women's movement of a country which might have succeeded in attaining equality might usefully take part in women's movements in other countries which are yet to reach their goal. While no one desires to interfere with the freedom of anybody, we should associate ourselves with each other in whatever we do. Let us not push principles to absurd conclusions, said Mr. Salim ; they must be built up on practice.

Dr. Emmannuel Olsvanger (delegate, Palestine Jews) said that women must be on their guard against forgetting the specific gifts of gentleness and nobleness of character which nature had endowed them with. Of course women can have all the political rights but in some aspects of life, as for example in the art of legalised murder called war, he would hate to see women engaged. Not for him the ideal of a woman leading an army. The education of women, said the delegate, should be directed to enabling them to fulfil in society the task that is theirs, and music and art should play a more important part in it.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (delegate, India) agreed with Dr. Olsvanger that there are certain things which are established to women and fundamental to society, to the state and humanity. It would naturally be a pity if women were to let these go. At the same time human evolution has reached a stage when we have got to talk not in terms of men and women but of human beings. Although she was a pacifist by conviction, in certain conditions she would consider it a sacred duty to fight. Such a possibility was not inconceivable to her. She did not see why it should be more horrible for a woman to lead an army than for a man to do so. Destruction is destruction, said the delegate, and the sex of the person engaging in it makes no difference. Emphasis on humanity

is what is needed and the world belongs to both men and women in every field of life. There is no action which can be taken solely either by men or women and can be wholly successful. Not only in the day to day work of a nation has this been proved but also in the freedom struggles that are taking place. She did not think that either the Gandhian movement in India or the Indonesian struggle could have succeeded if women had not responded to the call to fight alongside of men. Consequently women too can contribute, said Mrs. Pandit, according to their ability to everything that pertains to human progress.

A delegate for Indonesia wished to add to the points in the report regarding the status of women in her country. Though Article 27 of the Indonesian Constitution lays down that men and women have equal rights, in practice Muslim law continues to have great influence, and 90 per cent of the Indonesian people are Muslims. Actually in certain matters like inheritance women do not enjoy equal rights. But the women of Indonesia have faith that since the Constitution of their country is based on humanity and social justice their menfolk would not act in contravention of these principles. Women should educate themselves, said the delegate, attain economic independence, demand equal rights—recognising the corresponding obligations and duties, and not isolate themselves. The conviction should grow in them that they should take part in every field of activity so that they can perform their duties as human beings.

Madam Tairova (delegate, Tadjikistan) said that in her country men and women enjoyed equal rights. Being specially gifted and constituting one half of the entire population of the world women naturally take part in all spheres of social life. If the women of the Soviet Union had not played such a comprehensive part its successes would hardly have been achieved. During the war Soviet women took active part in reconstruction as well as actual battle. There are women in politics. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has nine women members and the Supreme Soviet of Tadjikistan has eight. Women are doing administrative and social work as well as men and this has not prevented them from being good wives and mothers. It is very important for women, said Madam Tairova, to take part in every sphere of social, economic and political work of their country.

Miss Karima El-Said (delegate, Egypt) observed that if there was anything for Muslim women to be proud of, it was the complete economic independence they enjoy. The most ignorant and illiterate among them as well as the best educated are free to have their own ways. They can sell and buy private property without the permission of father or husband and appoint any man or woman to manage their property for them. There is nothing, she said, in religion against abolition of polygamy. The delegate quoted the Quran which, addressing men, says, 'You may have more than one wife, but if you are afraid of being unjust it is better to take one. I tell you it is impossible for a man to be just among women.' To do away with polygamy is the spirit in every Muslim country, said the delegate, and it is not for men but for women to fight for that.

A delegate for China said that given parity of intelligence and training a woman could do as much as any man can. Despite legal equality between men and women in many Asian countries and elsewhere some mental inequality unfortunately still persists. The basic solution lies, therefore, in education, opined the delegate. If our children are made to develop the mental attitude that men and women are equal they will grow up to think so. The women's movement is not mere feminism but a world movement with social significance. Women should beware of the sort of sentiments about the gentleness of the fair sex to which Dr. Olsvanger gave expression earlier. They reminded her of those precepts which sought to glorify woman as the goddess of the home and the one at whose feet lay heaven. These precepts which have been handed down in our society have been women's undoing. In most Asian countries excluding Burma women occupy a much degraded position—socially, economically and legally, and conditions might continue to be degraded for quite some time to come. Therefore, even though the delegate agreed that women should not lose their gentleness, fighting qualities should still be developed in them in case they should have to fight for their daughters in society. It was a question of values. Furthermore, women should be prepared to fight not only society but religion. If Islam allowed polygamy none should rest content, be she Christian, Jew, Hindu or of any other faith until the Islamic law was altered. Religion after all belongs to the period of history when it was given to society. Religious laws must change with the changing social mores. We have already proved that this can happen. The delegate

felt that women's movements as such were essential to eradicate social evils both in law and in fact. She concluded that women should remember that they are fighting not as women but as equal citizens with men, towards the cause of truth and justice.

Mrs. Renuka Ray (delegate, India) said that Indian women had really no quarrel with precepts either Hindu or Muslim. They had come from an age when things were very different, but it is with the phenomenon of progressive demoralisation which has crept into our society that we now have to contend. It is not Muslim law alone that needs to be amended ; a great deal more has to be amended in Hindu law too. In India today there are frankly certain disabilities which have got to be done away with. Polygamy is there in law, though it does not mean that it is rife in society. It would be unfair and unjust to menfolk of the country to say that it is. Yet even if cases where women suffer because polygamy finds recognition in the statute book are few and exceptional, not only women's organisations but society as a whole should protest against such injustice. It is not the question whether the custom is rife or not but even if a few people took advantage of a covertly recognised system it is up to both men and women jointly to do away with it. Mrs. Ray did not think that it was ever the conception in India to have a feminist movement which was against men. This was not possible in the very nature of things in India where it was the men who awakened the consciousness of women since the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. In every subsequent social and political movement women have shown that they can work equally with men. The women's movement in India, as in other parts of the world, will exist only till such time as women take an equal share in the work for the regeneration of their country and the world.

Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint (delegate, Burma) said that in Burma polygamy was perfectly legal but purely voluntary. Under the Burmese Buddhist law, upon a husband taking a second wife the first wife has the option of divorcing him against his wish and, after divorce, of claiming one half of the joint property. Again, upon divorce, the mother takes the girls and the father takes the boys among the children of the union, said the delegate, which is a perfectly natural arrangement. He was not apologising for manhood but polygamy had arisen out of the heart's generosity and was due to an appreciation of youth and beauty. When polygamy was not

only legal but also practicable it seemed good for the country because in that case they never have the problem of surplus women. It was one of those economic solutions, said Mr. Kyaw Myint, which are quite pleasant to all the parties concerned. But the fact of the matter was that though polygamy was legal economic conditions no longer permitted it, nor was its practice good form any longer. He dare not, apart from the fact that he was perfectly well trained by his wife, take a second wife ; he would be hounded out of society or what passes for it.

Mr. Dang Ngoc Chan (delegate, Cochin China) said that polygamy was a question of individual temperament. Sentimental women who were very fond of their husbands always want to keep them to themselves. And there are also women who do not care at all. Men are animals of fantasy. In Cochin China polygamy is legal, added the delegate. He did not think that women could do anything in the matter.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (delegate, India) said that though we need them, laws in any amount were really of no avail until we realise the evils that have corrupted society. Evils that polygamy, child marriage and inequality in any sphere of life undoubtedly are, women's rights will accrue to them more easily when they realise their duties as well. We are living in a world torn asunder by strife and the fear of war. If the Conference should fructify it is the women who should rise to the ideals which the world has lost sight of. Polygamy might be legal but is an evil all the same. Turkey has abolished it without ceasing to be a Muslim country. Nor can surplus women be an excuse for polygamy. Europe has a surplus of women over men but they have not resorted to polygamy there. However, added the delegate, women are also guilty of a breach of this law in so far as they give their daughters in marriage to men who do have wives living. No less important was the need for women to act together to abolish war. Women in India had dedicated themselves to the country and brought it to the threshold of freedom through the doctrine of non-violence. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur wished that all Asian women would follow their Indian sisters in this great ideal so that there shall be no war. We must non-co-operate with war, she said, and if we do that, the rights for which we have been striving will come of themselves.

Madam Paz Mendez (delegate, the Philippines) said that she would like to make a distinction between what was customary and what was legal. Where polygamy did exist there can be nothing like equality between men and women. Legal disabilities must be removed and we should conform to what is just, right and moral and not do anything merely as a matter of practice. The Philippines did not sanction polygamy either by law or by custom except in a few places in the south where Islam is the prevalent religion. Women can certainly do something in the matter of the abolition of polygamy by organising public opinion and bringing more pressure to bear upon the law makers and society as well. The interests of women and children should also transcend the precepts of institutional religion in this matter. Speaking of women's organisations Madam Mendez thought they had a definite place even if women were able to achieve perfect equality with men because interests of family and children definitely belong to women. If women's interests are not to go by default, and because women are yet to attain the stature of men, there is need for women's movements through which they should continue to work for the removal of disabilities. There was no need to fear that women cannot attain equality with men without losing the beautiful qualities that are especial to them.

...WAS SAID AND DONE...

The Rapporteur, Miss Naidu, then answered a couple of points raised by the delegates during the discussion on her report. With regard to franchise in Palestine, she said that she had merely pointed out that for Jewish women it was limited. The question of equality as between men and women did not arise and she left implied the well-known fact that the franchise limitation refers to the lack of power to the Jewish community to vote in towns other than Jewish. Thanking those who had paid encomiums for her report she expressed her appreciation of the exquisite manner in which Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit had paraphrased Tennyson's famous lines, 'Woman's cause is man's; they rise and fall together.'

The plenary session then adopted the Rapporteurs' report on Topic VIII.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLOSING PLENARY (PUBLIC) SESSION

2 April 1947

THE Closing Plenary Session of the Asian Relations Conference met again in *Purana Qila* (Old Fort), Delhi, at 6 p.m. on Wednesday, 2 April 1947, with the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in the chair. The *paghal* was packed to capacity with visitors whose number was estimated at 20,000. The gathering was in every way a fitting finale to the tremendous interest that the preceding ten days of Conference work had aroused both in the membership of the Conference and in the public. The atmosphere was one of extreme cordiality. The presence at the meeting of the representatives of all the participating countries (with the exception of delegations from Kirghizia and Turkmenistan which could not arrive till the next day), the fact that Mahatma Gandhi was going to address it, and the presence as well of Dr. Sutan Shariar, Prime Minister of Indonesia, enhanced the interest of the gathering to much beyond a Plenary Session. The vast sea of human heads in the auditorium, and the rostrum brilliant with distinguished men and women drawn from practically every country of a whole continent made the occasion a true celebration of Asian fellow feeling. Great hope was writ large in every quarter. There was no delegation which did not look to the future with complete self-confidence based on a silent determination that the countries of Asia shall no longer live in isolation but collaborate for the immense benefit of themselves and the world.

The leaders of delegations were, as before, seated on the dais, and the proceedings opened with the President welcoming three more delegations which had arrived since the Opening Plenary Session, from the Philippines, Mongolia, and Korea. First to be called to speak was Mr. Anastacio de Castro, leader of the Philippine delegation. Mr. de Castro said :

It is a great honour and pleasure to be with you in this big gathering. I did not expect that I would be called upon to address such a big gathering, but that only shows the strong fellow feeling between fellow Asians. As you all know, the Philippines is one of the Asian countries which have recently been liberated. I shall say just a few words about our liberators. Never in the history of colonisers has such a thing happened. The Philippines has been given independence in a most cordial atmosphere. Since the occupation, right back in 1898, the American has come to us not as a coloniser but as a schoolmaster in the science of democratic ways of life. The education of the masses in the Philippines was raised to an extent that made them ready to be free and independent. The last global war has ruined the economy of our country. Our most important industries are dilapidated and ruined. Now we are in the early stage of reconstruction and rehabilitation. In this Asian Relations Conference we have opportunities to hear what our fellow Asians have to say regarding reconstruction of national economy. The Philippine delegates have been closely following the discussions with regard to the transition from colonial to national economy and also on agricultural and industrial development. The discussions have been very instructive and we can promise that we will as far as possible follow their conclusions. I am not going to discuss in detail our problems, but I would like to say briefly that after the United States granted us independence our feeling towards that country has been a mixture of affection and gratitude. In the period of reconstruction and rehabilitation the United States has generously given her aid. Some may say that the attitude of the United States towards the Philippine Islands is not aimed at fostering the latter's economic independence, but I want to tell you, fellow Asians, that no country today can be economically independent. What we are aspiring to do now is to combine our political independence with economic and social security, and that does not mean that we should not have commercial agreements, not only with the United States but with all countries of the world. Let us hope

that the agreement that we have just concluded with the United States regarding trade relations, and the forty-five years of experience during which the United States has been a guiding factor in our preparation for political independence, will bring about a balanced national economy. Lastly, I wish to thank all those who made this Conference possible. It is indeed a historic gathering and let us have more of these gatherings so as to foster goodwill and more understanding between all countries. Thank you.

Next to speak was Mr. Lubsan Vandan, leader of the Mongolian delegation. Mr. Vandan said :

The Asian Relations Conference called on the initiative of the Indian Council of World Affairs is successfully concluding. The Conference has laid the foundation of closer intercourse and contact between the countries of Asia, representatives of which are present at this Conference and are participating in its work. I must say that this Conference owes its success to a great extent to the active and personal participation in it of the vigorous and energetic statesman of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I hope that the contacts established at this Conference will be successfully developed, continued and strengthened in future for the better understanding and friendship of Asian peoples. In conclusion, in view of the approaching independence of India, I wish the people of India all success and prosperity in the future.

The President then called upon Dr. L. G. Paik from Korea to speak. Dr. Paik said :

I and my two colleagues have come from that distant country, Korea, just to attend this Conference. We have come too late to enjoy its wonderful beginning but we are in time to witness its successful conclusion. It is the end that counts. We wish to thank the Indian Council of World Affairs, and especially the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Naidu and their associates, for their foresight and vision in calling this Conference. We also wish to greet our fellow delegates in the same spirit that prompted all of us to come here, for I know our hearts beat together.

Korea is keenly interested in this Conference because it is the first Conference of its kind and because until our national liberation in 1945 we had no opportunity to participate in international gather-

ings. Korea is an ancient nation. Its history dates back to more than forty-two centuries. Korea is a nation of ancient culture, of a homogeneous race and a unified language. In point of population, it is the fifth in Asia. In point of geographical position, Korea occupies an important place in the far east uniting as well as separating great powers in the orient. Korea has performed a very important mission in assimilating and transmitting continental cultures to the peoples in Asia.

I know this Conference has restored to us the ancient channels that gave us a free flow of cultures amongst ourselves. It has marked the beginning of a new era in Asian affairs. The meeting of people of more than a score of states in Asia inspires us with hope and determination. We have disposed of our own fears and we have resolved to guide our own destinies. Today by the grace of the Allied powers Korea is free and she has worked out her own salvation. But the country is divided into two and occupied by the Russians in the north and the Americans in the south. This division has paralysed Korea both politically and economically. It is hoped that in the nearest possible future the unity of the country will be restored and complete independence granted to Korea. A united, free and independent Korea will have a great deal more to contribute than now to the common task of the Asian people as well as to the rest of the world. We did not expect that we could solve all political, economic and social questions of the continent at this Conference. But the Conference has accomplished the great task of bringing the Asian nations close to each other. This achievement alone will serve as an illustrious page in the annals of history. The success of a conference is measured not by the heat generated in the debates nor by the volume of literature produced but by the continuation of the work which has its beginning at this Conference. I am sure that we did not come here for the creation of a world unit which will separate Asia from the rest of the world, but for the creation of one unit within the larger unit which is the world itself. In such international co-operation and unity we must all insist on continental co-operation and solidarity. If there had been such continental co-operation and solidarity the recent history of the world might have been different. Let us continue in the months to come and years to follow, to make this Conference a success, as you have already done, in laying a firm foundation for the new era which is dawning upon this continent.

At the conclusion of Dr. Paik's speech Miss Zhang Kyung Koh, a delegate for Korea, presented two dolls to the President 'from the women of Korea' and two more to Pandit Nehru 'from the girls of Korea', who looked to his leadership 'as an aid for obtaining the kind of world in which they wish to live'.

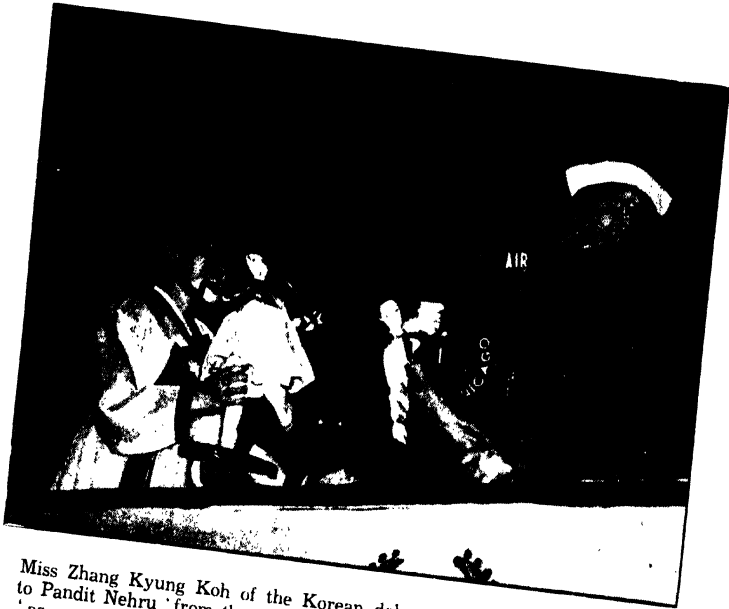
The President then called Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam Bey, observer for Egypt and leader of the Egyptian delegation, to speak. Dr. Azzam Bey said :

The meeting of Asian nations in this Conference to discuss the great problems of Asia—social, economic and cultural—is itself a very significant event which will prove fruitful for the Asian nations. I am not going to speak of my country—Egypt. We got our freedom and we are sure to get our demands met, relying on our clear rights and on the sympathy and moral help of all the Asian nations. It has been said in this Conference—and it may be said again—that the meeting of the Asian countries to discuss these great problems does not mean hostility to any other nation. It is only a great step towards world co-operation, aiming at realising justice, freedom and happiness for the entire human race. I thank the organisers of this Conference who provided us this very happy occasion.

After Dr. Azzam Bey had concluded his speech, Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the Conference. He was loudly cheered as he took his seat on the dais, the entire congregation standing.

The President then called upon Dr. G. H. Sadighi from Iran to speak. Dr. Sadighi said :

The first Asian Relations Conference is now reaching its closing stage after completing its labours. The Conference of Asian peoples is a great event and what we have seen of it shows us that our future relations will be cordial and strong. Therefore, that some days of our life have been spent in Delhi we must rejoice, for during these days the foundations of a very useful organisation have been laid. All those who have a clear vision and understanding of current affairs know very well that the holding of this Conference has ensured the happiness of the present generation and of posterity. It was well worth the time it took. The discussions in the various groups and committees have provided the



Miss Zhang Kyung Koh of the Korean delegation presenting two dolls to Pandit Nehru 'from the girls of Korea' who looked to his leadership 'as an aid for obtaining the kind of world in which they wish to live'

delegates with information on the cultural, social and economic status of the countries of Asia and we are now better informed of the life of our Asian brothers. It is necessary that we should know each other. This Conference has shown us the way and we hope to reach the goal very soon. The group reports which were presented to the Conference were all approved by general agreement. The result of such a gathering is more important than one can grasp at first and as you all would have realised by now each of us has learnt through various contacts much more than we would have got out of books. It is of paramount importance for us to get to know each other very well to be able to pursue our common ideal. Now we depart with very pleasant memories and a little sadness, but with the hope that through the tireless efforts of this Conference we have laid the foundation of a very durable organisation which will unite us spiritually and culturally, and lead us to solidarity and goodwill.

Next to be invited to address the Session was Dr. Sutan Shariar, Prime Minister of Indonesia. Dr. Shariar said :

I am deeply grateful to you for the kind thought which prompted you to call on me to speak from this distinguished platform today. At the outset let me thank you most sincerely for the kindness, hospitality, sympathy and goodwill that have been showered upon us who have come on this brief but memorable visit to India. After six years of isolation, this is our first incursion into the large, wide world of which we form a small part. We came here a trifle shy but the understanding and kindness which we have received on every hand has put us completely at our ease. We feel very much at home here in your midst now. And it is with profound satisfaction that we see the other members of the far-flung Asian family—our spiritual and cultural brothers—assembled here in a spirit of true understanding and friendliness.

We from Indonesia deeply appreciate the reasons which have led to the inauguration of this Conference, namely, the desire to see the Asian continent rise to its full stature, not in any spirit of hostility or as a threat to those in other lands, but purely in order to provide Asians the opportunity to plan and execute orderly and co-ordinated development along humanistic and international lines. It is inevitable that a conference of this nature should devote some of its attention to certain political questions of vital importance, but

we believe that it has performed the useful service of establishing cordial relations among the delegates of the different countries assembled here. And it is a matter of satisfaction to us that we have been able to accomplish all this without in any way hurting the feelings of the people of other continents.

We are now living in troubled times, in a world which is very much in a state of flux. When changes of far-reaching consequence take place in the relationship between nations, there is bound to arise an atmosphere filled with doubts and difficulties, and sometimes of tension too. Yet this is the time for action—for firm, definite action which will have as its objective the betterment of the imperfect world in which we live. But, even while we initiate measures or execute plans aimed at improving our common lot, it is incumbent on us to act in such a manner that the consequences of our action will be palatable to other peoples and will serve to strengthen the bonds which exist between the various races of the world.

It is clear that this Conference has these objectives in view. But it is quite likely that some may question the motives that led to the calling of this assembly as well as doubt whether this gathering can produce the expected results. The idea behind this Conference was the provision of a forum to discuss common Asian problems and thereby seek ways and means to bring closer relations between the countries of this continent. The proceedings of the past few days have revealed the importance of the questions discussed and they have also shown us the path we must take in order to provide the necessary solution. If we go a little further we will see that the motivating factor behind the Asian Relations Conference was not only the question of those Asian countries which are free or soon will be free ; nor was it only the question of the capitalist system as opposed to those who prefer the Soviet economic system ; nor was it again a question of industry versus agriculture ; but it was a compelling sentiment, a forceful sentiment which insistently sought expression in this Conference. We will not go into the history of this sentiment or the causes which gave birth to it, but we will simply acknowledge the fact that this powerful, compelling sentiment exists as a reality which cannot be minimised or denied. It is vital that we should understand the hidden springs

from which it arises, and that we should try to gauge the direction in which it tends to flow.

In my opinion the sentiment which has impelled the races of Asia to struggle for independence is not only based on truth and justice but is also in keeping with the insistent call of progress and absolutely in harmony with the dictates of humanity. But here it is important to bear in mind that that sentiment must be so nurtured that it will not stray from the path of truth, justice, humanity and idealism. For, should we fall prey to careless ways of thought, this self-same sentiment will turn itself into an instrument of destruction and all our idealistic visions of a brave new world will end in Dead-Sea fruit.

May I remind you that we must exercise the greatest care to see that the Asian sentiment which has brought us here together is preserved as a holy flame which will spur us on to greater endeavours towards justice, truth, idealism and humanitarianism? May I also say that we must exercise courage and understanding, vision and enterprise if we are to forge ahead along rational lines? The sentiment which we all feel is the result of centuries of humanitarian endeavour on the part of all Asians. We have cultivated it with such fervour that it is now a powerful force—and a powerful force for good, I believe—which wisely used should help us realise not only the vision of the 'One World' we have been striving for, but also the dream of the oneness of mankind.

Let us therefore put all our energies into the task of making this Conference serve as the beginning of mutual endeavour on the part of all Asians for a better world in which the granting of political, social and economic justice to all will lead to a 'One Asia' which will in time expand into a 'One World'. The delegates who have been here and participated in the good work of this Conference should carry back with them to their countries a message of hope and inspiration from this gathering and should work for the implementation of the ideals this Conference stands for.

In conclusion let me, on behalf of my country and my people, extend to all of you in general and to you of India in particular our warm thanks for the great moral and material support you have given us in our struggle. Many as our faults are, we Indonesians

have never been and never will be guilty of ingratitude. We owe all of you a great debt and it is from the very bottom of my heart that I say 'thank you and goodbye'.

Introducing him as 'the father of the nation and the apostle of truth and non-violence', the President then requested Mahatma Gandhi to address the Conference. The Mahatma observed :

I do not think that I should apologise to you for having to speak in a foreign tongue. My provincial speech, which is my mother tongue, you cannot understand and I do not want to insult you by insisting on the provincial speech. Our national speech is Hindustani. I know that it will be a long time before it can be a rival in international speech. If there is rivalry it is between French and English. In international commerce undoubtedly English occupies the first place. For diplomatic speech and correspondence, I used to hear when I was studying in my boyhood that French was the language of diplomacy, and if you wanted to go from one end of Europe to the other you must try and pick up French. So I tried to pick up a few words of French in order that I may be able to make myself understood. Anyway if there is any rivalry at all it lies between French and English. Therefore, having been taught English, naturally I have to resort to speaking to you through that international speech.

I was wondering what I was to speak to you. I wanted to collect my thoughts, but let me confess to you that I had no time and yet I had promised yesterday that I will try to say a few words to you. I remember I wanted to think out and I said to myself, 'you friends have seen not the real India; you are not meeting in conference in the midst of real India. Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore—all these are big cities and have been influenced by the West.' I then thought of a story. It was in French. It was got translated for me by an Anglo-French friend. He was a philosopher. He was an unselfish man who befriended me without my having known him because he always sided with the minorities and I was—that is, my countrymen were—in a hopeless minority; not only a hopeless but a despised minority. If the Europeans of South Africa will forgive me for saying so, we were all coolies. I was an insignificant coolie lawyer. At that time we had no coolie doctors. We have no coolie lawyers. I was the first

in the field, nevertheless a *coolie*. You will pardon me, those of you who know the story, if in recalling I make mistakes here and there, but there will be no mistake in the main incidents. It is of course an imaginary story. There were three scientists. Three scientists went out from France, went out of Europe in search of truth. That was the first lesson. That story taught me that if truth was to be searched it was not to be found on the soil of Europe, and therefore, undoubtedly not in America. These three scientists went to different parts of Asia. One of them found his way to India and he began his search. He went to the so-called cities of those times. Naturally this was before the British occupation, before even the Moghul period. (That is how the French author has illustrated the story). But still he went through the cities. He saw the so-called high-caste people, men and women, till at last he penetrated a humble cottage in a humble village that was a *bhangi* cottage and he found the truth that he was in search of in that *bhangi* family. I wanted to connect that story with what I wanted to say to you. If you really want to see India at its best, you have to find it in the humble *bhangi* home. And such villages, so the English historians teach us, are 700,000. A few cities here and there do not hold several crores of people but 700,000 villages do hold nearly 40 crores of people. I say nearly because you may take away one crore perhaps, may be two crores, in these cities. Still there would be 38 crores. Then I said to myself, 'if these friends go away without finding their true India what will they have found?' I then thought that I would beseech you to imagine this India not from this vast audience, but to imagine what it would be like. See perhaps a few villages of India. Then you will find the real India. Today I will make this admission also that you will not be fascinated by the sight. You will have to scratch down below the dung heaps that these villages are today. I do not pretend to say that they were ever places of paradise, but today they are really dung heaps. They were not like that before; of that I am quite sure. I speak not from history but from what I have seen of India myself with my physical eyes. I have travelled from one end of India to the other seeing these villages, seeing the miserable specimens of humanity with their lustreless eyes. Yet they are the India and yet in those humble cottages, in the midst of those dung heaps are to be found the humble *bhangis*, where you will find the concentrated essence of wisdom.

How ? That is a great question. But then I want to take you to another scene. Again I have learnt from books, books written by English historians and translated for me. But they tell us that wisdom came to the West from the East. And who is this wise man ? Zoroaster—he belonged to the East. He was followed by the Buddha. He belonged to the East. He belonged to India. Who followed the Buddha ? Jesus—again from Asia. Before Jesus who was there ? Moses, also belonging to Palestine, though he was born in Egypt. And then came Jesus, then came Mohammad. I do not know a single person to patch these men of Asia. And what happened ? Christianity became disfigured when it went to the West. I am sorry to have to say that, but that is my reading.

I gave you this story in order to hearten you and in order to make you understand, if my poor speech can make you understand, that what you see of the splendour and everything else in the cities of India is not real India. Certainly the carnage that is going on before your very eyes is a sorry and shameful thing. Do not carry the memory of that carnage beyond the confines of India. But what I want you to understand if you can is that the message of the East, the message of Asia is not to be learnt through European spectacles, not by imitating the vices of the West, its gunpowder and atom bomb. If you want to give a message of importance to the West it must be a message of love. It must be a message of truth. Let your hearts clap in unison with what I am saying and then I think I shall have finished my work.

Therefore, I want you to go away with the thought that Asia has to conquer the West. Again the question that a friend asked yesterday : did I believe in one world ? Of course I believe in one world. How can I possibly do otherwise ? You and I are the inheritors of the message of love that these great and unconquerable teachers have left for us. You can re-deliver that message now in this age of democracy, in the age of an awakening of the poorest of the poor. You can re-deliver this message with the greatest emphasis. Then you will complete the conquest of the whole of the West. I am so sanguine that if all of you put, not merely your heads but hearts together, understand the secret of the message which all these wise men of the East have left for us, and if we really become worthy of that great message, then you will easily understand that the conquest of the West will be completed

and that conquest will be felt by the West itself. The West is today pining for wisdom. It is despairing of multiplication of atom bombs because such multiplication must destroy not merely all the West but the whole world. I am afraid the prophecy of the Bible is going to be fulfilled and there is to be a perfect deluge. Heaven forbid that there will be that deluge, and that through men's wrongs. It is up to you to deliver the whole world and not merely Asia from wickedness and sin. That is the precious heritage which your teachers and my teachers have left for us.

Next to speak was the leader of the Chinese delegation, Mr. Cheng Yin-fun. Mr. Cheng said :

At this morning's plenary session it was the unanimous opinion of the delegates present that the next session of the Conference should be held two years hence in China. On behalf of the Chinese delegation I wish to extend to you all at this historic gathering my thanks for this signal honour you have done to my country. I warmly welcome and accept the proposal and I hope that all the participating Asian countries will co-operate with China to make the next Conference as unqualified a success as the one which is just concluding with such happy memories.

On behalf of the delegates from the various Asian countries assembled here, I wish to mark our appreciation of the great services rendered by Mrs. Naidu and Pandit Nehru for the success of this Conference and the cause of Asian unity by making a presentation of a very small token of our affection and regard to the two great personalities who have been the inspiration not only of Asia but of the whole world. By her inspiring message at the Opening Session of this Conference Mrs. Naidu conveyed to us the glittering vision of Asian harmony for which we must strive. Pandit Nehru in his address to us brought to bear on the same problem the great gifts of statesmanship and vision. In addition to these two architects, we had in our midst during the two days of our Conference, the great, saintly Gandhiji, beloved by Asians all over and Indians alike, whose wise messages of yesterday and tonight we shall never forget. To him I express our highest esteem and the fondest affection.

Before I conclude, I would ask you, Madam President, on behalf of us all, to convey to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the President

of the Indian Council of World Affairs, our regret that illness has prevented him from being present at this Conference. I hope he will soon be well. To the Indian Council of World Affairs, to its indefatigable Secretary, Dr. A. Appadorai, to the organisers and the Reception Committee, we should like to express our appreciation and gratitude for their generous hospitality and the goodwill with which we have been received and looked after.

At the conclusion of Mr. Cheng Yin-fun's speech and upon his request, Mr. George de Silva (delegate for Ceylon) presented, on behalf of the Conference delegations, silver salvers to the President Mrs. Naidu, and Pandit Nehru.

Dr. Tran Van Luan, leader of the Viet Nam delegation, was next called upon to read the message he had brought to the Conference from Dr. Ho Chi-minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The message said :

"I am sorry I cannot come and attend personally the Conference of the Asian nations owing to widespread fighting in my country. Nevertheless, I sincerely thank you for your kind invitation. Please convey my warmest greetings to your Government, your people and all the representatives of the Asian world. My mind and my heart will be with you during the Conference. The success of this Conference will be ours because it will be the success of the Asian peoples. On the same occasion, on behalf of my brethren the Viet Nam people, I express to the Indian Government and to the Indian people our deepest gratitude for their support during our struggle. With all my thanks please accept the best wishes of our people and our Government for the Government and people of India in the achievement of their aim—independence and unity."

After Dr. A. Appadorai, the Secretary, had thanked on behalf of the President the various institutions and individuals, and his 'loyal staff', who had worked so devotedly to make the organisation and conduct of the Conference such a success, the proceedings of the Asian Relations Conference were brought to a close with two concluding speeches, one from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the other from the President, Mrs. Naidu. Pandit Nehru, who spoke first, said :

Ten days ago you came here from distant countries and you were bid welcome. During these ten days we have discussed many problems together and now we have arrived at the end of this Conference. The end I said, but it is actually the beginning, the beginning for which we have laid the foundation formally this morning. All these nine days during which we discussed many problems we were preparing for this final act of laying the foundation of some kind of organisation which will carry on the work of this Conference. And today the plenary session of the Conference decided to start an Asian Relations Organisation. They started a simple organisation with a Provisional General Council and certain simple rules. At the plenary session they elected the General Council but of course nomination was the form in which various delegates were made to give their members. The Provisional Council did me the honour of electing me its President. Being irresponsible by nature, not thinking too much of what may lie in store in the future, I accepted that office. But it is a heavy burden that you have cast upon me because there are no known paths to tread except memories of long ago, memories of today and hopes of the future. That is enough certainly, yet we have to build this Organisation from the bottom up. It is not something which we merely have to carry on. In the building of this obviously we will not succeed unless all of us co-operate and function together.

I wonder if during these few days you have had the feeling which I have had when I watched all of you sometimes getting heated, sometimes objecting to this or that. Nevertheless, it was remarkable how much unanimity there was amongst people coming from the four corners of this mighty continent. I wondered often enough whether a similar conference held in Europe—that little continent which quarrels so much—or in the bigger continent of America, with people from so many countries, would have conducted its proceedings with so much amity and goodwill. I imagine that there would have been far more conflict, far less understanding and finally no particular result. I think there is something in this that while we may have many failings—we the people of Asia undoubtedly have had many failings and we have suffered enough for them—nevertheless we are a peaceful and friendly people, and some kind of common bond unites us wherever we may live in this wide continent. So whenever I thought of this Conference in session and I tried to think of other Conferences

elsewhere and compare the two, a certain hope and elation filled me that it is not a thing of the moment that we are doing here—just a big show for a number of people who have come from abroad—but that there is something deeper behind it which will carry us not only in Asia but carry the message of Asia to other countries and continents. Do not imagine for a moment that I am speaking in any vainglorious way, talking about the message of Asia. I do think that every country and every continent has its own message. I am not trying to belittle the other continents, Europe or America, when I say that Asia has a message. Europe has a message and America too. We in Asia ought to have our eyes and ears open to those messages that come from Europe and America, but I would say at the same time that it is also time that Europe and America opened their eyes and ears to the message of Asia and the happenings here. I do believe that the message, the age-long message, of Asia has something of enormous value for humanity. It has something of value for modern civilisation in the West. I do not denounce the latter. In fact I want my own country to be industrialised. But in spite of its great advance there has been something strangely lacking in the West because of which it has come to this pass when with all the good things of the world before it, it has to think in terms of war. It is an astonishing thing that any sensible person with the advantages of science before him, when he can easily realise that the whole world can be a happy, prosperous and co-operative commonwealth, should believe in and think of wars, of hating, killing and wanting to suppress another. We might understand this in ignorant people but the curious thing is that the most learned, the most civilised according to modern standards indulge in phantasies of war and preparation for it. It is an extraordinary thing. We stand for the United Nations because therein lies some hope of world co-operation and world peace. Yet the United Nations have not functioned in an obviously united way. They have not set an example of peace and goodwill in their attempt to function together. I hope those are only the troubles of early beginnings which they will survive to lead us to a better and co-operative world. Therefore we support the United Nations. But the point I was trying to bring to your notice is that this mighty civilisation of the West which has done so much to raise human standards, somehow occasionally has something which makes it sink to the level of the brute. Perhaps it may be that something of the essential spirit, the old

wisdom of Asia, might help to remove the lack in Western civilisation; I do not know. I do think that in any event we of Asia should try first of all to hear our own message because we cannot carry a message to others unless we know it ourselves. During these past generations we have forgotten ourselves, what we were and what we are. We have to find ourselves again and when we have done that others undoubtedly will find us also. We are now in this process and therefore others also are in the process of realising that Asia is not merely something on the map—a place for the rivalry of various imperialisms or a region where there are large markets to be exploited, but that it consists of human beings with dignity and a long past behind them, and who are going to have a big future. So in this sense we are always in a period of transition. The world is not a static place. Yet sometimes there are some landmarks which divide one era from another, and undoubtedly I think that all the delegates who have come from abroad will agree with me that this Conference has been such a landmark in the history of Asia. And because of that it is a landmark in the history of the world. For a number of centuries Europe was the centre of history if I might say so, because it was the most dynamic, creative continent, and adventurous. What is happening today? Europe will continue of course as a highly cultured and highly civilised continent. But it is obvious that the centre of events is shifting from Europe, that on one side it has shifted to America and on the other to Asia. We may not immediately see things happening, but obviously this long domination of Europe, ideological, geographical or whatever you may call it, is passing. In future, whether in the arts of peace or in war, Asia is likely to play a big part. If there is going to be a war on a big scale, unfortunately Asia's part will be big. Asia is more likely to be the centre, if any war occurs, than Europe in future. So we are coming into this picture and it is up to us to realise first of all the part we have got to play and then to train ourselves for it. We cannot and we must not think in terms of a narrow and a purely nationalistic part, although inevitably the nations of Asia must advance along the lines of their nationalism. Today we are facing big problems and these cannot be solved by the mere nationalistic approach. Therefore we have to meet and confer together so that we may evolve common plans of action.

I have no doubt at all that your coming here has been a vast education to the Indian people. They will feel in a friendly way

towards your countries, and I hope that in the same sense when you will go away from here, you will carry friendly memories not only of us the few whom you have met but of the people of India. Unfortunately the part of India you have seen most is New Delhi. Mahatma Gandhi was telling you that this is not India. If you want to see India you have to go to her hundreds of villages and see her poverty. It is not a pleasant sight. Yet it is no good avoiding realities because they are unpleasant. That is India and the problem of India is the problem of her poverty. We are going to have political independence of course but if that independence has any meaning it must be used for the elimination and liquidation of that poverty.

I talk of poverty in India. But there are few Asian countries which are not cursed by poverty and these low standards. It is a common problem for all Asia and therefore one of the special things we have to undertake, wherever we go, is to tackle this problem of raising the standards of the people. I trust that the new organisation that we have started will help us in learning from each other's failures as well as each other's successes. The Provisional General Council of the Asian Relations Organisation has appealed or rather made a recommendation to all national units to start academies or schools for Asian studies. It is for you when you go back to give effect in so far as you can to this recommendation. I hope we in India will be able to take this matter up. I have appealed to my countrymen here to take it up quickly; because the burden is going to fall upon them if we are to have an academy of Asian studies. It is no good having something that is not good enough. Therefore we propose to have in this city of Delhi something that is really worth while, for the study of Asian culture, languages and all other things pertaining to Asia. I hope that the people of Delhi specially and the people of India generally will see to it that we have an academy which will really be in the nature of a big university.

Now, finally, you who have come from outside and you who live here read in the newspapers of the troubles we are having in India. We sometimes read in the newspapers of the troubles you are having in your countries. There is hardly a country which is devoid of trouble and conflict. Perhaps that is the legacy of this war. Perhaps it is an inevitable consequence of having to pass

through this period of transition. What is happening in India is bad enough and those of us who have to shoulder responsibility for these find it a heavy enough burden. Yet do not imagine for a single instant, you who have come from abroad or you who live in this country, that this trouble and conflict is anything that frighten us. We are having trouble ; we may have more trouble. But big things are happening in the world, in Asia and in India. When ancient empires are uprooted the ground shakes. Many things happen. You cannot have the birth of complete freedom without the labour pains that accompany every birth. So while we regret what is happening and we try to find a peaceful way of progressing, we also realise that sometimes it is inevitable that this kind of thing happens. We have to face it and try to conquer it as undoubtedly we shall, and you will, wherever you may come from. So I want you to face these difficulties and troubles in Asia as elsewhere with confidence in yourselves and in the future of your country and of Asia.

Now, I am going to bid you farewell and express the hope that you will carry away with you not only good memories of India, but a passionate determination to live up to the work we have undertaken today.

The President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, next addressed the Closing Plenary Session. She prefaced her speech with an expression of thanks to the Entertainments Committee of the Conference and to its chief, Mrs. K. Shiva Rao, for 'the clour, music and liveliness' they brought to the Conference. In an enthralling oration listened to with the raptest attention by the audience Mrs. Naidu proceeded to say :

As Pandit Nehru has said, though we are at the end of this Conference this is but the beginning of our labours. I have followed all the messages which I received of the affirmation of friendship and fellowship, of the exchange and interchange of ideas, and the cordial understanding of one another's aims and ideals. This morning, as Pandit Nehru has told you, the stone has been well and truly laid, the stone of a great edifice which is to be the common sanctuary of all the Asian people.

All that could be said was said by Pandit Nehru and myself on the first day and there is very little for me to add. During the

speeches of the various delegates we heard the same echo, the same urge and desire that there shall be understanding, friendship, co-operation and a free and united Asia. I am one of those unfortunate—or I consider them very fortunate—people to whom the real world as it is understood scarcely exists. I have lived up to 68 years of age and today my enthusiasm, my dream, my hope, my faith and my certainty remain as radiant as on the first day when I was born. I have a great dislike for things that are supposed to be precious to most men and women. I have not cared for possessions; I had no time to hold possessions. I always wanted my hands free to uphold the beauty of the universe and the dignity of the human spirit. Today, after many years of dreaming painfully, I find the beginnings of realisation.

From the outermost corners of Asia strangers came to my country and these strangers have become my brothers, my sons and my sisters. In this heart of Delhi, in this heart of the old Hindu empire, we have founded today a new world brotherhood, not an empire which monopolises power for any one section or another but a federation of free peoples where every individual is equal to every one else, where there will be no leaders and followers, but all brothers in the mighty task of regeneration. Pandit Nehru has said that Europe and America have been the dynamic centres of culture, or organisation, science and achievement; all honour to these younger continents. But, we of the immortal East, we who were before time was, we who will exist as long as eternity lasts, we have a lesson to teach to the world. But, as Pandit Nehru said, let us first understand the message ourselves. For centuries that message of the East has been almost forgotten and lapped in our own minds. We have followed strange Gods. We have despised our own treasures and sought the imitation that came to us from outside. But today the consciousness has returned to us. We are reborn in the crucibles of many sufferings and we have emerged as pure gold, the gold of Asian consciousness, of wisdom, scholarship, culture, fellowship, service, dedication, dignity of the human spirit, and the one-ness of man. What other message have we received or could we receive from the brothers from far off places who, over mountain tops, amongst the clouds and over the ocean, have come to us and brought us their goodwill and their faith in our honesty of purpose? They have realised that it is the place and function of India to rekindle the torches of the world

and they have brought their own torches to be rekindled, even as the old Zoroastrians brought their burning log a thousand years ago to India and whose flame has never died. So too, India sends back the inextinguishable torch of peace and freedom in the hands of the delegates who have come.

Brothers, sons, sisters, and daughters ; you who speak so many tongues, you who speak with so many diverse accents and experiences ;—go back to your countries and say : ‘ We were mistaken ; we believed that the great continent of Asia was split up by the mountains and rivers ; but we found that that is a mere illusion ; the heart of Asia is indivisible and one.’

After two years we shall go to China and as the Chinese delegate gave us his invitation, I thought of what the Prophet of Islam had said so beautifully : ‘ Go even as far as China to seek knowledge.’ I would say, ‘ Go to China to seek knowledge and wisdom.’ All those who have come here today will go to China tomorrow and so we have set the great wheel of destiny in motion again and the hands of time will not stop the revolution of the wheel. In years to come, when we who are here are no more, and are reduced to dust and ashes, when you who are listening to me are no more and forgotten, the work we have done today will remain, will survive and will be the beacon star to all those who seek freedom, fellowship, equality and love in the world

You have heard the message from his own lips of the great apostle of love and truth. He is feeble today. He is bent and tired with the tragic pilgrimage of his to solace the bleeding hearts of sufferers in Bengal and Bihar. But that frail body, those tired limbs, that almost inaudible voice is not Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi is he who says, ‘ love and forgive, love and create, love and be free.’ That is the message of India. My children, my brothers, my sisters and daughters, take that message of Gandhi to your country. He says, ‘ by hatred we shall not conquer ; by love we shall win’. Where sword is unsheathed against sword there is no victory. Where there is love, where there is the message of peace, there is victory, triumph, truth, and unity. Therefore, take back from my country that golden lily that Gandhiji bears in his hand. Touch with it the eyes of those who are affected with blindness ; touch with it the ears of those who are deaf ; touch with it the mouth of those who have been struck dumb, and say that the message of

India is peace. Though it comes from India it has found millions of echoes in every corner of Asia. Let there be a brotherhood of humanity ; let us abolish once for all differences between man and man, between class and class, between creed and creed, between culture and culture, between consciousness and consciousness, between continent and continent. As the poet has said, do not forget that we are all one and members of one another. If Dr. Sadighi will permit me I should like to recite an exquisite Persian verse but I am too ashamed of my Indian accent to do so. But that is the teaching of Hindu philosophy ; that is the teaching of Islam ; of the great Buddha, of Confucius and Zoroaster; that is the teaching of all those who have wrought for the salvation of mankind, each through his own texts, in his own tongue, according to his own belief, who affirmed the truth that others had spoken, that prophets had spoken, that poets had sung. The whole world is united in one passionate desire to be able to live in security and happiness.

Pandit Nehru spoke of the poverty of Asia. Oh ! how much more cruel the poverty of the spirit than the poverty of flesh and bone ! Oh ! how much more terrible is the disaster of ignorance than the disaster of any epidemic that takes its toll of millions ! Oh ! how much more shameful than any word can utter is the tragedy of humiliation and bondage ! Let us see to it that we redeem the human spirit from every form of bondage. Through pure knowledge shall we redeem mankind, shall we wipe out the tears of those who have wept for years in ignorance and suffering.

The long night of India's darkness is coming to an end. We were fatalistic. We believed that it was destined that we should be dependent and exploited ; that we should be dominated and subjected. Alas ! alas ! alas ! that that period was ours ; but no longer, not from tomorrow's dawn ; nay, not from this hour when we part.

Fellow Asians, as I called you the other day, my comrades, my kinsmen, arise ; remember the night of darkness is over. Together, men and women, let us march forward to the Dawn.

CHAPTER V

ASIAN RELATIONS ORGANISATION

AT the Plenary Session of the Asian Relations Conference on 2 April 1947 Mr. Wen Yuan-ning (delegate, China) moved the following resolution on behalf of the Steering Committee of the Conference, regarding the establishment of a permanent organisation and as embodying a scheme unanimously adopted by the said Committee :

The members of the Delegations from the Asian countries, assembled in the first Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, firmly believing that the peace of the world, to be real and enduring, must be linked up with the freedom and well-being of the peoples of Asia, are unanimously of the opinion that the contacts forged at this Conference must be maintained and strengthened, and that the good work begun here must be continued, efficiently organised and actively developed. They accordingly resolve to establish an organisation to be called the Asian Relations Organisation with the following objects :

- (a) to promote the study and understanding of Asian problems and relations in their Asian and world aspects,
- (b) to foster friendly relations and co-operation among the peoples of Asia and between them and the rest of the world, and
- (c) to further the progress and well-being of the peoples of Asia.

To this end, a Provisional General Council is appointed consisting of

1. Dr. Abdul Majid Khan
2. Mr. Taquiddeen El Solh

3. Mr. L. Kalantar
4. Mr. M. A. Yusufov
5. Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint
6. Mr. M. A. Raschid
7. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike
8. Mr. George E. de Silva
9. Mr. Han Lih-wu
10. Mr. Wen Yuan-ning
11. Mr. V. Kupradze
12. Dr. Abu Hanifah
13. Mr. Soeripno
14. Dr. G. H. Sadighi
15. H. E. Ali Asghar Hekmat
16. Mr. Sharipov
17. Dr. L. G. Paik
18. Dr. Burhanuddin
19. Mr. J. A. Thivy
20. Mr. Lubsan Vandan
21. Major-General Bijaya Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana
22. Prof. Hugo Bergman
23. Mr. Anastacio de Castro
24. Mr. Manuel S. Enverga
25. Mr. S. Nimmanheminda
26. Mr. M. Tursunzoda
27. Mr. Sarymsacov
28. Dr. Tran Van Luan
29. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ¹
30. Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade

The Provisional General Council will elect a President and two General Secretaries, one from the country in which the first Conference has been held and the other from the country in which the next Conference is to be held.

The Asian Relations Organisation will be composed of National Units, one in each Asian country, affiliated to the Organisation. The Units will be non-governmental in character with objects similar to those of the Organisation. The Organisation and the Units will

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was subsequently elected President of the Council and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a member.

devote themselves to the study of Asian and international affairs and have no party affiliations, nor will they engage in political propaganda.

The first task of the members of the Provisional General Council on return to their respective countries will be to take immediate steps to secure affiliation of existing National Units and to establish such Units where they do not exist. The Council is authorised to grant such affiliation.

The work of the Organisation will be carried out in the countries concerned through their respective National Units after they are established and affiliated to the Organisation and pending such establishment and affiliation, through their members on the Council.

The next general Conference will be convened in 1949. The Council may convene special or regional Conferences in the interval for special purposes in general conformity with the objects of the Organisation at centres which it considers suitable.

The Council will take such action as it may consider necessary from time to time for the progressive development of the Organisation.

The Council will frame a Provisional Constitution under which the Organisation will function. This Constitution will be submitted for ratification to a general or special Conference.

The Provisional General Council now appointed will hold office until the body which is to take its place is elected and assumes office.

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan (delegate, India) seconded the motion.

The resolution was carried *nemine dissente*.

The Secretary (Dr. A. Appadorai) announced that at the meeting of the Steering Committee in this connection several delegates suggested that the next conference should be held in China and the Chinese Delegation most willingly accepted the suggestion.

Mr. Cheng Yin-fun, leader of the Chinese Delegation, said that he warmly accepted this honour which had been conferred on China.

APPENDIX A

MESSAGES

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, President of the Indian Council of World Affairs :

I desire to convey my best wishes for the success of this Conference, the importance of which at this juncture in the history of the world and particularly in the history of the Asian countries is so obvious.

Abdur Rahman Azzam Bey, Secretary-General, Arab League :

In the name of millions of Arabs, some independent and some still struggling for their political independence and cultural freedom, I salute this first great congress which demonstrates to the world the awakening of the people of Asia, so long held powerless to exert full moral and political influence in world affairs.

We Arabs stretch out our hands in welcome to our brothers and sisters in the East to whom we are linked by many ancient ties of race, of faith, of culture and of common cause in the liberation of our peoples.

His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iraq :

My best wishes for the success of the Conference and the future close co-operation of all the Asian nations in their efforts for freedom, international peace and mutual understanding.

Dr. Majid Khadduri, Law College, Baghdad :

I am a firm believer in inter-Asian relations, not only as a student of international relations, but as a specialist also in Eastern history and politics. My message to the Conference would be the firm belief in the prosperous

future of the Asian races and their far-reaching significance in the history of culture and spiritual development.

Dr. Fuat Köprülü, President of the Istanbul University :

My sincerest wishes for the success of the Conference.

Kiusic Kirum, Chairman, Interim Legislative Assembly of South Korea :

This Conference has a most grandiose mission to carry out as well as colossal task to perform. We hope it will bring about the realisation of our great ambition—peace, prosperity, happiness and goodwill among all mankind, beginning with Asia in the same way as Asia is the birth place of all mankind and most of its institutions. Long live the Asian Conference and its work to be done.

Kmkusai Bunka Sinko Kai, Tokyo :

Best wishes.

President, Peoples Party, Baghdad :

Peoples party proudly greets Asian peoples' Conference assuring all and Indian people solidarity in heroic and victorious struggle against imperialism, our common enemy.

President, Mauritius Labour Party :

Mauritius workers fully associate with the ideals leading the Conference. Labour Party wishes full success.

The Young Palestine Association, Tel Aviv :

Accept the salutations of Palestinian youth in your historic initiative. Let the people of New Asia unite in the common will of freedom of which our heroic fight was a symbol and inspiration. Long live the unified, renascent, young Asia, the pioneer of peace, unity and progress.

President, Hindustan Students' Association and President, Chinese Students' Association, University of Illinois :

Let this Conference inaugurate a new era in Asia so that the peoples of the orient may once again not only enrich the cultural streams of mankind but also lead the whole world towards greater freedom, peace and prosperity than it has ever known before.

President, National Council, Nigeria :

Whilst looking to Asia for leadership of coloured races in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, we in Africa are playing our part towards national self-determination in order to destroy every vestige of man's inhumanity to man on this continent.

National Peace Council, London :

National Peace Council realises the importance of Asia's contribution to a new world order and sends warmest greetings to this historic conference.

President, General African National Congress :

Africa greets rising Asia. May Asia's growing power be a bulwark for world peace and international goodwill among nations.

Secretary, Thai Bharat Cultural Lodge, Bangkok :

We wish the Conference every success. We hope it will create understanding and brotherhood amongst all nations.

Chairman, National Democratic Party, Baghdad :

We greet your Conference and wish it great success in bringing co-operation among Asian nations in their struggle for their liberties and happiness. Our party wholeheartedly supports your efforts.

General Secretary, Indian Progressive Society, Vancouver :

We hope that your deliberations will lead to freedom for all Asian peoples under foreign domination. It is our firm belief that only an Asia of free peoples can make a real contribution to world peace.

Executive Secretary, Chicago Chapter of the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy :

We send warmest greetings to the Asian Conference recognising this as a forward movement in unifying and strengthening democratic forces not only in Asia but in the entire world.

Executive Director, Chicago Action Council :

Our council representing 10,000 business and professional people sends greetings to your Conference which indicates hope to the world in representing unity of Asian peoples.

Madam Ayako Ishigaki (Haru Matsui) :

I wish all success to the Asian Relations Conference. I believe that the complete independence of India will promote democracy in Asia as well as in the world. We Asian people have the common cause in our struggle and we must get together in building a better world.

Madam Maria Ulljah Santoso, Minister of Social Affairs, Indonesian Republic :

I hope that through the Asian Relations Conference the Indonesian women's movement will have more contact with women's movements in other parts of Asia. I hope that Indian women will soon come to Indonesia to see the share of Indonesian women in the building up of a new and free Indonesia.

Madam Sivapackiam Palanisamy, Founder, Ceylon Indian Congress :

The unity of the peoples of Asia through the Asian Relations Conference augurs well for the future independence of all the peoples of Asia.

Madam Cheahinkkiong :

I wish every success to the Asian Relations Conference.

Madam Bedia A Nan :

Accept my best wishes for the success of the Conference.

Madam Vera Chang Ang :

I send my heartiest wishes.

Madam Sadigheh Dowlatahadi, President, Khanoun Banvan, Iran :

We sincerely wish the Conference every success.

Madam Duncan Harris, President, Annual Council of British Section of Women's International League :

Our special greetings to women members of the Asian Relations Conference.

Messages were also received from the following :

Bengal Arya Students' Association
All-India Democratic Vanguard
Indian Social Association, Palembang
Penang Hindu Sabha
Progressive Wing, National Democratic Party, Baghdad
Board of Directors, World Republic, U.S.A.
Hsieh Ping Hsin, Chinese Association in Japan
Korean-American Cultural Association
Indian Students Congress of Nairobi
Malayan Indian Congress, Kualalipis
Gita Samaj, Bulasar
Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, (East Africa),
Nairobi
All-Ceylon Humanitarian League
Casa Indiana, Lourenco Marques
Trincomallee District Committee, Ceylon Indian Congress
Vijay Vidyarthi Sangh, Hyderabad, Dn.
President, National Union Party, Baghdad
Raja Hewavitarne, Colombo
Abdulla Suleiman, Djeddah

APPENDIX B

THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES

1. Afghanistan
2. Armenia
3. Azerbaijan
4. Bhutan
5. Burma
6. Cambodia, Cochin China and Laos
7. Ceylon
8. China
9. Egypt
10. Georgia
11. India
12. Indonesia
13. Iran
14. Kazakhstan
15. Kirghizia
16. Korea
17. Malaya
18. Mongolia
19. Nepal
20. Palestine Jewish Delegation
21. The Philippines
22. Siam
23. Tadjikistan
24. Tibet
25. Turkey
26. Turkmenistan
27. Uzbekistan
28. Viet Nam

Observers from :

1. Arab League, Cairo.
2. Australian Institute of International Affairs, Sydney.
3. Australian Institute of Political Science, Sydney.
4. India Institute, London.
5. Institute of Pacific Relations, Moscow.
6. Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.
7. Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.
8. United Nations Organisation, New York.

APPENDIX C

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CONFERENCE

AFGHANISTAN

Delegates

1. Dr. Abdul Majid Khan, President, Kabul University, Kabul.
(Leader of the delegation).
2. Dr. Mohd. Anas Khan, Director-General of Education, Ministry of Education, Kabul.
3. Mr. Sarwar Khan Goya, Adviser to the Publications Department, Kabul.
4. Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan Kohzad, Director-General of the Historical Society, Kabul.
5. Mr. Hokom Tschand, Director of the Afghan National Bank, Karachi.

Observers

6. Mr. Ghulam Mohamed, Royal Afghan Consul-General in India, 24, Ratendone Road, New Delhi.
7. Mr. Ali Ahmed Naimi, Director, Ariana, Kabul.

ARMENIA

Delegates

8. Prof. L. Kalantar, Academy of Sciences, Erevan. (Leader of the delegation).
9. Mr. A. G. Abrahamian, Erevan University, St. Sowet 24, Erevan.

AZERBAIJAN

Delegates

10. Mr. Ibrahimoff, Academy of Sciences, Baku. (Leader of the delegation).
11. Mr. M. A. Yousufov, Apt N 3, St. Zevira N 8, Baku.

BHUTAN

Observers

12. Mr. J. P. Dorji, Agent to the Government of Bhutan, Bhutan House, Kalimpong.
13. Rani C. Dorji, C/o The Agent to the Government of Bhutan, Kalimpong.

BURMA

Delegates

14. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kyaw Myint, Judge, High Court, Rangoon. (Leader of the delegation).
15. Dr. Htin Aung, Professor of English and Administrative Officer, University of Rangoon, Rangoon.

16. U Ko Lay, Lecturer in Chemistry, University of Rangoon, Rangoon.
17. Mr. Dina Nath, Member of the Executive Committee, Burma Council of World Affairs, 270/2, U Wisre Road, Rangoon.
18. Naw Ohn May Taw, Treasurer, Karen's Youth Organisation, 411-A, Lower Kanmendine Road, Rangoon.
19. Daw Khin Mvo, Chit, c/o O-Way Daily, Maung Khine Street, Rangoon.
20. Dr. Hla Myint, Professor of Economics, University of Rangoon, Rangoon.
21. U Wun, Lecturer in Burmese, University of Rangoon, Rangoon.
22. U Thein Han, Librarian, University of Rangoon, Rangoon.
23. U Soe Win, 98, 52nd Street, Rangoon.
24. U Saw Tun, Chemical Engineer, Burma Chemical Industries, Rangoon.
25. Dr. Tha Hla, Officiating Professor of Geography and Geology, University of Rangoon, Rangoon.
26. U Ba, Administrative Officer, University of Rangoon, Rangoon.
27. U Ba Lwin, Headmaster and Superintendent, Myoma National Co-education High School, 353, Godwin Road, Rangoon.
28. Daw Saw Yin (Mrs. G. Khin Zaw), Editor, English Section, All-India Radio, 52, West Side, Wandsworth Common, London S.W. 18.
29. Mr. M. A. Raschid, Joint Honorary Secretary, Burma Council of World Affairs, 632, Merchant Street, Rangoon.
30. U. Mya Sein, 98, 52nd Street, Rangoon.

Observers

31. U Paing I.C.S., Judicial Secretary, Government of Burma, Rangoon.
32. Myanaung U Tin, Political Secretary to the Finance Member, Government of Burma, A.F.P.F.L., 8, Churchill Road, Rangoon.
33. The Hon'ble Thakin Mya, Finance Member, Government of Burma, Rangoon.
34. U Chan Htoon, Constitutional Adviser to the Government of Burma, Rangoon.

CAMBODIA, COCHIN CHINA AND LAOS

Delegates

35. Dang Ngoc Chanh, Directeur de Cabinet du Ministere de l'Interieur, Saigon (Cochin China). (Leader of the delegation).
36. H. R. H. Pingpeang Yukanthor, Phnom-Penh (Cambodia).
37. Mr. Ourot Souvannavong.

CEYLON

Delegates

38. The Hon'ble Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Minister for Local Administration, Secretariat, Colombo. (Leader of the delegation).
39. The Hon'ble Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, Minister of Education, Secretariat, Colombo.
40. Mrs. E. C. Fernando, 302, Bullers Road, Colombo.
41. Dr. A. Nell, Retired Dipththalmic Surgeon, Colombo.
42. Dr. B. B. Das Gupta, University of Ceylon, Colombo.
43. Mr. G. R. W. de Silva.
44. Prof. W. A. E. Karunaratne, Professor of Pathology, University of Ceylon, The Haven, Gregory's Road, Colombo.
45. Mr. Justin Samarasekera, Asst. Architect, P.W.D., Colombo.
46. Miss Cissy Cooray, President, Lanka Mahila Samiti, 34, Kynsey Road, Colombo.
47. Mrs. H. M. Gunasekera, President, Gamine Matha Samittiya, Ascot Union Place, Slave Island, Colombo.
48. Mrs. Theja Gunawardhana, Honorary Secretary, Lanka Mahila Samiti, Anuradhapura, Ceylon.
49. Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan, Alfred Place, Colgatty, Colombo.
50. Mr. P. N. Thirunavukarasu, Publicist, c/o Ceylon Tamil Congress, Colombo.
51. Mrs. A. R. M. Nilam, Honorary Secretary, All Ceylon Women's Conference Association, c/o Y.M.C.A., Colombo, Ceylon.
52. Mrs. Gunaratnam Cooke, 77, Ward Place, Colombo.

Observers

53. The Hon'ble Mr. George E. de Silva, Minister of Health, Secretariat, Colombo.
54. Mr. E. W. Kannangara, C.C.S., 18, Gregory's Road, Colombo.
55. Mr. A. C. H. de Soysa, C.C.S., 11, Charles Place, Colgatty, Colombo.
56. Mr. N. A. F. Meemanagé, 270, Avasa Road, Mount Lavina, Colombo.
57. Miss Anil de Silva.

CHINA

Delegates

58. Mr. Cheng Yin-fun, San-Min-Chu-I Youth Corps, Nanking. (Leader of the delegation).
59. Dr. Wen Yuan-ning, Legislative Yuan, Nanking.
60. Dr. Mao Yee-hang, Professor of Political Theories, Kwang-Hua University, Shanghai.
61. Mr. Han Lih-wu, Ministry of Education, Nanking.
62. Prof. Wang Sing-kung, Chancellor, National Chun Sen University, Canton.
63. Prof. Tan Yun-shan, Viswa Bharati Cheena Bhavan, Shantiniketan, Bengal.
64. Miss Chen Yi-yun, 16, Kuling Road, Nanking.
65. Dr. Daniel H. Lew, c/o China Institute of Pacific Relations, 75, Kienkuo Road West, Shanghai

Observer

66. Mr. George K. C. Yeh, Foreign Office, Nanking.

EGYPT

Delegates

67. Mr. Mostafa Momen, Muslim Brotherhood Society, Helmia El-Jedida Square, Cairo.

68. Miss Havva Idris, Egyptian Feminist Union, 2, Kasr El-Nil Street, Cairo.
69. Miss Karima El-Said, Egyptian Feminist Union, 9, Giza Street, Cairo.

Observers

70. Mr. M. Kamel, Consul-General for Egypt in India, Bombay.
71. Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam Bey, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, Cairo. (Leader of the delegation).

GEORGIA

Delegates

72. Mr. Victor Kupradze, Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi. (Leader of the delegation).
73. Mr. George Akhvlediani, Perovrkaya Street, 14, Tbilisi.

INDIA

Delegates

74. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 'Golden Threshold', Hyderabad-Dn. (Leader of the delegation).
75. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Dadar, Bombay.
76. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, 4, York Place, New Delhi.
77. Mr. G. D. Birla, Albuquerque Road, New Delhi.
78. Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.
79. Mr. N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, 'Nanga Parbat', Teynampet, Madras.
80. Mrs. Hannah Sen, Lady Irwin College, Sikandra Road, New Delhi.
81. Mrs. Hansa Mehta, 16, Altamont Road, Bombay.
82. Prof. Humayun Kabir, c/o Hind Kitabs, Hornby Road, Bombay.
83. Dr. L. K. Hyder, c/o Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

84. Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, c/o "Janata", Connaught Circus, New Delhi.
85. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, 17, York Road, New Delhi.
86. Mr. N. M. Joshi, Model House, Proctor Road, Bombay 4.
87. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Mangalore.
88. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Sevagram, Wardha.
89. Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Servants of India Society, Allahabad.
90. Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Lashkar, Gwalior.
91. Miss Leilamani Naidu, 'Golden Threshold', Hyderabad-Dn.
92. Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, 52, Queensway, New Delhi.
93. Sir Maharaj Singh.
94. Mrs. Tarabai M. Premchand, Madhukunj, 7, Narayan Dabhulkar Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
95. Mr. M. R. Masani, c/o Tata Sons Ltd., Bombay House, Bruce Street, Bombay.
96. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Government of India, New Delhi.
97. Dr. John Matthai, Minister for Transport, Government of India, New Delhi.
98. Sir H. P. Mody, c/o Tata Sons Ltd., Bombay House, Bruce Street, Bombay.
99. Mr. K. M. Munshi, 26, Ridge Road, Bombay.
100. Acharya Narendra Deo, c/o Lucknow University, Lucknow.
101. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister, Bikaner.
102. Dr. P. P. Pillai, Cochin House, Jantarmantra Road, New Delhi.
103. Sir Abdul Quadir.
104. Dr. I. H. Qureshi, University of Delhi, Delhi.
105. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, 30, Edward Elliotts Road, Mylapore, Madras.
106. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Minister for Food, Government of India, New Delhi.
107. Lady Rama Rao, 'Northend', Carmichael Road, Bombay.
108. Sir C. V. Raman, The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.
109. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, 'The Grove', Teynampet, Madras.
110. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, University of Delhi, Delhi.
111. Mrs. Renuka Ray, 24/1, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
112. Dr. B. C. Roy
113. Mr. K. Santhanam, Joint Editor, *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi.
114. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, 'Ranjani', Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

115. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Minister for Industry and Supply, Government of India, New Delhi.
116. Mr. B. Shiva Rao, 4, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi.
117. Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Adviser, Rampur State.
118. Dr. Tarachand, University of Allahabad, Allahabad.
119. Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastri, Edward Elliots Road, Mylapore, Madras.
120. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, 1, Butler Road, Lucknow.
121. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Jamia Milia Islamia, Delhi.
122. Mrs. Manmohini Sahgal, 'Alcazar', Gamadia Road, Bombay.
123. Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh, Ramjas College, Delhi.
124. Mr. G. L. Mehta, c/o Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Calcutta.

Observers

125. Mr. B. F. H. B. Tyabji, 25, Queensway, New Delhi.
126. Mr. A. V. Pai, 23, Tughlaq Road, New Delhi.
127. Mr. H. M. Patel, 113 Safdarjung, Delhi.
128. Mr. V. K. R. Menon, 1, Ratondone Road, New Delhi.
129. Sir John Sargent, 36, Imperial Hotel, New Delhi.
130. Mrs. R. K. Nehru, 1, York Place, New Delhi.

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Delegates

131. Dr. Abu Hanifa, MIP, 48, Raden Saleh Road, Djakarta.
(Leader of the delegation).
132. Dr. Tambunan, MIP, 37, Gondokusuman, Djogjakarta.
133. Dr. (Mrs.) H. Soebandryo, All-Indonesian Women's Congress, Djogjakarta.
134. Mr. Soeripno, President, National Union of Indonesian Students, Djalan Dijeng, Djogjakarta.
135. Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, MIP, Secretary, Council of National Defence, Djogjakarta.
136. Mr. Siauw Giok Tjhan, MIP, 69, Kajutangar Malang, Java.
137. Mr. D. Sjahroezah, MIP, Mahameroe I, Djogjakarta.
138. Dr. S. Muwalladi, Chief of the East Asian Section, Department of Foreign Affairs, Djalan Bodjonegoro 14, Djakarta.

139. Dr. Tamzil, Secretary, Ministry of Information, Djalan Madura 15, Djakarta.
140. Mr. Musirin, 58, Kranggan, Djogjakarta.
141. Miss Jetty Zain, Member of Council, Indonesian Socialist Youth, Solo.
142. Mr. Mohammad Ichsan, All-Indonesian Youth Congress, 70, Joegoe Koelon, Djogjakarta.
143. Mr. Djanamar Adjam, Indonesian Youth Congress, 10, Mangomoeljo, Djogjakarta.
144. Dr. Kasan Munthalib, Vice-President. Indonesian Peasant Movement, Djogjakarta.
145. Dr. Maruto Daroesman, Vice-Chairman, CPI, Djogjakarta.
146. Mr. B. S. Budhyman, Vice-Director, Indonesian Broadcasting Centre, Djogjakarta.
147. Dr. S. Luat, Member, Working Committee, Djogjakarta.
148. Mr. Djoir Mohammad, MIP Boekittinggi, Sumatra.
149. Miss Soetijah, Secretary, All-Indonesian Women's Organisation, Kegalen 10, Solo, Java.
150. Mrs. S. Hamdani, Cherebon, Java.
151. Mr. Oetomo Ramelan, National Union of Indonesian Students, Djogjakarta.
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153. Mr. Abdul Azis, Editor, *Suara Rakjat*, Djalan. Semerol 2, Malang, Java.
154. Mr. Soemantri, Java.
155. Mr. Charles Thamboe, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Djakarta.

*Observers*¹

156. Haji A. Salim, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Djakarta.
157. Dr. A. K. Pringgodigdo, Director-General, Economic Affairs, 101, Kramah, Djakarta.
158. Mr. R. H. Abdul Kadir, Ministry of Defence, Djogjakarta.
159. Mr. H. Rashidi, Secretary-General, Ministry of Religion, Kotagide, Djogjakarta.
160. Dr. Nazir Pamontjak, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Djakarta.
161. Mr. Mochtar H. Loebis, 17, Djalan Bonang, Djakarta. (Press Attache).

1. Dr. Sutan Shariar joined the Conference at a later stage.

IRAN

Delegates

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163. Madam Safiyeh Firouz, Women's Association, 122, Avenue Pasteur, Teheran.
164. Dr. Mehdi Bayani, Honorary Secretary, Indo-Iranian Cultural Association, c/o National Library, Teheran.

Observers

165. H. E. Ali Asghar Hekmat, Ex-Minister of Education, Teheran. (Leader of the Cultural Mission).
166. Mr. Mustafa Ram, Ministry of Finance, Teheran.
167. Mr. Mohamad Moghtaderi, Ministry of Labour and Propaganda, Teheran. (Press Attache).

KAZAKHSTAN

Delegates

168. Mr. Charipov, University of Alma Ata, Alma Ata. (Leader of the delegation).
169. Mr. Sauranbaev.

KIRGHIZIA

Delegate

170. Mr. Hiasov, Academy of Sciences, Frunze.

KOREA

Delegates

171. Dr. Lark Geoon Paik, Chosun Christian University, Soeul. (Leader of the delegation).

- 172. Mr. Kyung Duk Har, c/o *Seoul Daily News*, seoul.
- 173. Miss Zhang Kyung Koh, Women's Bureau, Allied Military Government, Seoul.

MALAYA

Delegates

- 174. Dr. Burhanuddin, Post Box 333, Kuala Lumpur. (Leader of the delegation).
- 175. Brahmachari Kailasam, c/o Ramakrishna Mission, 9, Norris Road, Singapore.
- 176. Mr. Philip Hoalim, 3, Malacca Street, Singapore.
- 177. Mr. Mohd. Salleh Daud, 'Antara', 3, Raffles Place, Singapore.
- 178. Madam Hajah Zainum Binti Sulaiman, Education Department, Johore, Johore Baharu.
- 179. Mr. C. D. Abdullah, Vice-President PMFTU, 85-C, High Street, Kuala Lumpur.
- 180. Mr. Yap Meow Siew, 3 & 5, Murray Street, Seremban.
- 181. Mr. S. A. Ganapathy, President, PMFTU, 85, High Street, Kuala Lumpur.
- 182. Mr. P. P. Narayanan, Secretary, NSILU, Post Box 4, Seremban.
- 183. Mr. E. E. C. Thurai Singam, Bar-at-Law, Treacher Road, Kuala Lumpur.
- 184. Mrs. E. V. Deviesahayam.
- 185. Mr. Jamnadas J. Mehta.
- 186. Mr. H. B. Talalla, 3, Golf View Road, Kuala Lumpur.
- 187. Mr. J. A. Thivy, 177, High Street, Kuala Lumpur.

MONGOLIA

Delegates

- 188. Mr. Lubsan Vandan, c/o Committee of Sciences, Ulanbator (Leader of the delegation).
- 189. Mr. Norbo Sambu, State University, Ulanbator.

Observer

- 190. Mr. Shirab,

NEPAL

Delegates

191. Major-General Bijaya Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, 'Lakshmi Nivas', Katmandu. (Leader of the delegation).
192. Sirdar Narendramani A. Dikshit, 'Shantiniketan', Katmandu.
193. Prof. Ratna Bahadur Bisht, Tri-Chandra College, Dilli Bazar, Katmandu.
194. Mr. Surya Prasad Upadhyay, Journalist, Bhatbhateni, Katmandu.
195. Principal Rudra Raj Panday, Tri-chandra College, (Wotu Pinkhatole) Katmandu.

Observers

196. Major-General Subarna Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, 'Lalita Nivas', Katmandu.
197. Lt.-Col. Khadga Narasingh Rana, Thamel, Katmandu.
198. Sirdar Gunja Man Singh, Katmandu.

PALESTINE JEWISH DELEGATION

Delegates

199. Prof. S. Hugo Bergman, 51, Ramban Road, Jerusalem. (Leader of the delegation).
200. Dr. (Mrs.) Anna Brachyahu, Physician, Palestine Women's Equal Rights Association, Post Box 71, Jerusalem.
201. Mr. Yaacov Shimoni, Post Box 92, Jerusalem.
202. Mr. Ben-Zion Ilan, Farmer, Collective Settlement (Afikum Settlement), Palestine.
203. Dr. Alfred Bonné, Economist, Hebrew University, 49, Ramban Road, Jerusalem.
204. Dr. Immanuel Olsvanger, 3, Gaza Road, Jerusalem.
205. Mr. David Hacohen, Director, Building and Industrial Undertakings, Labour Movement, Post Box 563, Haifa.
206. Mrs. B. Habas Hacohen, Journalist, Mount Carmel, 13, Haradiv Street, Haifa.

207. Mrs. May B. Mereminsky, Psychologist, Lecturer, Palestine Teachers Seminary, Post Box 303, Tel Aviv.
208. Mr. F. W. Pollack, 43, Forbes Street, Bombay 1.

THE PHILIPPINES

Delegates

209. Prof. Anastacio de Castro, 16, F Roxas, San Juan, Rizal, (Leader of the delegation).
210. Mr. Manuel S. Enverga, 309, Samanillo Building, Escolta, Manila.
211. Mr. Jose, A. Carpio, 32, Shaw Brid, Mandaluyong, Rizal.
212. Prof. Quirino G. Gregorio, Malabon, Rizal.
213. Prof. Mauro Mendez, 106, Laura, San Juan, Rizal.
214. Dean (Madam) Paz P. Mendez, 106, Laura, San Juan, Rizal.

SIAM

Delegates

215. Phya Anuman Rachathon, The Fine Arts Department, Bangkok. (Leader of the delegation).
216. Prof. Sukich Nimmanheminda, 102, Chaiyapruk Road, Phra-kanong, Bangkok.

Observers

217. Prof. (Miss) Chaluay Kanchanagom, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
218. Nai Manoj Vudhaditya, Rajvidya House, Rajdamnern Avenue, Bangkok.

TADJIKISTAN

Delegates

219. Madam M. Tairova, Kijibishov Street 10, Stalinabad. (Leader of the delegation).
220. Mr. Mirza Tursunzoda, Akademiyi Hawk, Stalinabad.

TIBET

Delegates

- 221. Sampho Theiji, c/o Tibetan Foreign Office, Lhasa. (Leader of the delegation).
- 222. Khenchung Losang Wangyal, c/o Tibetan Foreign Office, Lhasa. (Leader of the delegation).
- 223. Sampho Sey, c/o Tibetan Foreign Office, Lhasa.
- 224. Letsen Kunga Gyaltsen, c/o Tibetan Foreign Office, Lhasa.

TURKEY

Observer

- 225. Mr. H. Kocaman, Turkish Vice-Consul in India, Bombay.

TURKMENISTAN

Delegate

- 226. Mr. Mamedov, c/o Academy of Sciences, Ashkhabad.

UZBEKISTAN

Delegates

- 227. Mr. Sarymsacov, 35, Karl Marx Street, Tashkent. (Leader of the delegation).
- 228. Prof. V. K. Zakhidov, 10, Engels Street, Tashkent.

VIET NAM

Delegates

- 229. Dr. Tran Van Luan, National Assembly of Viet Nam, Hanoi. (Leader of the delegation).

230. Mr. Mai-the-Chau, Viet Nam Representative in India,
Y. M. C. A., New Delhi.
231. Dr. Tran Van Giau, University of Hanoi, Hanoi.

THE ARAB LEAGUE, CAIRO

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232. Mr. Taquiddeen El Solh.

THE AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, SYDNEY

233. Mr. John A. M'Callum, 297, Malabar Road, Maraulra, N.S.W.

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234. Mr. Gerald Packer, 419, Collins Street, Melbourne.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, NEW YORK

235. Mr. Richard Adloff.
236. Mrs. Virginia Thompson Adloff, 30, Sutton Place, New York
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237. Mr. Philip Talbot.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, MOSCOW

238. Mr. E. M. Zhukov, Pacific Institute of the Academy of
Sciences, Moscow.
239. Mr. T. P. Plyshevski, Pacific Institute of the Academy of
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INDIA INSTITUTE, LONDON

240. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, 47, Strand, London, W.C. 2.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION, NEW YORK

241. Mr. Kamal Kumar, United Nations Information Centre, Theatre Communications Building, Connaught Circus, New Delhi.

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, LONDON

242. Mr. W. W. Russell.
243. Dr. P. N. S. Mansergh.

APPENDIX D

THE CONFERENCE DOCUMENTATION

1. *Agenda*

GROUP A

TOPIC I : NATIONAL MOVEMENTS FOR FREEDOM

- A. Stage in the movement towards freedom in Asian countries
- B. Difficulties and obstacles in the way of freedom
- C. Extent and limitations of co-operative action in the non-political sphere among Asian countries to assist each other in the freedom movement

GROUP B

TOPIC II : RACIAL PROBLEMS

- A. Importance of racial problems in Asian countries. How far are they acute in :
 - 1. Middle Eastern countries

2. Southeast Asian countries
3. Other countries

B. Roots of Conflict

1. The basis of classification of races
2. Racial conflicts in the scientific sense
 - (a) European *versus* Asian
 - (b) As between Asian countries
3. Cultural, Religious, Economic and Political differences mixed up with racial conflicts
4. Methods of promoting understanding

C. Discriminatory Laws—the extent to which they are based upon political and economic factors, and not on racial factors

1. Discrimination in administration
2. Discrimination in franchise, legislation and Government
3. Discrimination in economic matters

D. Racial equality in Asian nationalism

TOPIC III : INTER-ASIAN MIGRATION

A. Inter-Asian Migration

1. Factors promoting and checking migration
2. Racial loyalty and exclusiveness as causes of racial conflicts.
3. Racial minorities and their influence in freedom movements
4. Adjustment of relationship between racial groups and the community.

B. Immigration Laws

1. How far do they reflect the policy of the community and how far that of the ruling power only ?
2. Methods of controlling immigration
3. Discrimination in application between European and Asian

- C. Disability of Migrants
- D. Naturalisation Laws
- E. Experience during the war
- F. Possibility of improvements in relations
 - 1. Cultural contracts
 - 2. Control over immigration
 - 3. Inter-Asian co-operation
 - 4. Education and information

GROUP C

TOPIC IV : TRANSITION FROM COLONIAL TO NATIONAL ECONOMY

- A. Stages in Transition : Present position of Asian countries
- B. Distinguishing features of Colonial and National economy
 - 1. Trade under Colonial economy
 - a. Object in development
 - b. Composition—agricultural products in exports and industrial goods in imports—stress on particular commodities
 - c. Communications developed to encourage trade
 - d. Imperial preference
 - e. Balance of Trade
 - f. Benefits to mother countries by Colonial trade with other countries
 - 2. Production under Colonial economy
 - a. Primary production—production mainly on export basis—development of plantation economy
 - b. Industrial production relatively unimportant
 - c. Foreign capital investment in particular spheres—its effect on production organisation
 - 3. Currency and Public Finance under Colonial economy
 - a. Currency policy. Internal policy adjusted to the advantage of “home” country—manipulation of exchange rates

- b. Public Finance. Tax structure regressive—emphasis on expenditure on police functions
 - c. Public debt. Predominance of external debt—debt in relation to assets
- 4. Labour under Colonial economy
 - a. Wages
 - b. Working conditions
 - c. Living standards
- C. Problems of Transition
 - 1. Balancing of lop-sided economic structure
 - 2. Filling the gaps
 - 3. Necessary changes in the political, social, and economic structure
- D. Limitations of National economy
 - 1. Dangers of isolation and autarky
 - 2. Extreme nationalism

TOPIC V : AGRICULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND INDUSTRIAL
DEVELOPMENT

Agricultural Reconstruction

- A. Situation in Asian countries
- B. Agricultural Problem
 - 1. Pressure of population
 - 2. Mass poverty
 - 3. Improvements in efficiency
 - 4. Land Tenure
 - 5. Rural Credit—Co-operative movement
- C. Agricultural Organisation
 - 1. Peasant farming
 - 2. Co-operative farming
 - 3. Collectivisation

D. Agricultural Planning

1. Food planning for Asian countries
2. Mechanisation and the problem of surplus
3. Cottage industries
4. Rural welfare and standard of living

E. Financing of Reconstruction**F. State in Agricultural Policy**

1. Crop planning
2. Research
3. Stabilisation of agricultural prices

*Industrial Development***A. Relative degree of Industrialisation in Asian countries : Rate of development****B. Experience of other countries****C. Plans of industrialisation in Asian countries****D. Relationship between industrialisation and agricultural reconstruction**

1. Relative place of each in improvement in living standards
2. Distribution of population between the two
3. Need for balanced economic structure

E. Transport and Communications in Asian countries**F. Priorities in Industrialisation****G. Appraisalment of respective natural resources for execution of national industrial planning**

1. Raw materials
2. Capital equipment
3. Man-power
4. Trained personnel

H. Financing of Industrialisation : Internal and external capital

I. Effects of Industrialisation on Inter-Asian Trade**J. State and Industrialisation**

1. Public and private enterprise
2. Centralisation *versus* decentralisation

K. Problems of Industrialisation

1. Health and hygiene
2. Housing
3. Factory legislation
4. Social insurance

(These problems are considered in Topic VI—Labour Problems and Social Services.)

TOPIC VI : LABOUR PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL SERVICES*Labour Problems***A. Problems of Employment****B. Conditions of Employment**

1. Legislation regarding hours and wages
2. Legislation regarding employment of women and children
3. Legislation regarding conditions of work
4. Legislation regarding compensation
5. Inspection and control
6. Wages, earnings and cost of living

C. Trade Unionism and Industrial Relations**D. Social Insurance***Social Services***A. Health and Hygiene**

1. Factual data regarding health services
2. Adequacy of methods of control
3. Technical personnel
4. Nutrition standard
5. Financial resources

B. Housing

1. Standard of housing in Asian countries
2. Administrative control over housing
3. Housing plans in Asian countries
4. Financing of housing programmes
5. Administrative organisation

C. Education

1. Content of national education
2. Educational plans of Asian countries
3. Financing of education
4. Training of teachers

GROUP D**TOPIC VII : CULTURAL PROBLEMS**

- A. The Common Pattern of Culture in Asian countries—similarities and differences
- B. Religion and Philosophy—Buddhism and its spread—Centres of study in India and outside—Nalanda and Vijaya, other centres. Influence of China—Zoroastrianism and Judaism ; Christianity and Islam—Role of Iran and of India and their influence on Islam.
- C. Educational Ideals and Methods and their influence on Culture
- D. Literary influences on Culture. The question of common language in Asian countries
- E. Art and Architecture—Movement with illustrations
- F. Economic—Industrial and Commercial contacts—India and the West—Iran, Roman Empire—China, silk trade—Maritime contacts
- G. Effects of Impact of West on different countries and the problems it raises
- H. Arrangements for promotion of mutual understanding and co-operation

1. Educational
 2. Economic
 3. Social and political
- I. State of Scientific Research in Asian countries
 - J. Gaps and deficiencies
 - K. Co-ordination of Scientific Studies and Research in Universities in Asian countries
 - L. Planning of Research Schemes
 - M. Exchange of Scientific knowledge, teachers and students

GROUP E

TOPIC VIII : STATUS OF WOMEN AND WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

- A. Present position of Women in Asian countries and improvements therein :
 1. Legal status
 2. Economic and social problems
 3. Marriage and divorce
 4. Franchise, legislation and administration
- B. Women's movements in Asian countries—the extent of their achievement
- C. Educational opportunities
- D. Health and welfare problems
- E. Employment opportunities for women
- F. Possibilities of co-operation

2. Memoranda

GROUP A : TOPIC I

1. Bandaranaike, S.W.R.D., Development of Local Self-Government in Ceylon
2. Banerjea, B.N., Freedom Movement in Asia

3. de Silva, George E., Lanka's March to Freedom
4. Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Freedom Movement in Southeast Asia
5. Maung Sein, Freedom Movement in Burma
6. Mai The Chau, Freedom Movement in Viet Nam
7. Malayan Indian Congress, Freedom Movement in Malaya
8. Narayanan, T.G., Freedom Movement in Indonesia
9. Prasad, Bisheshwar, Freedom Movement in India
10. Raja, P.K.S., Freedom Movement in India
11. Sitaramayya, Patabhi, National Movement for Freedom in India
12. Venkataratnam, Bh., National Movements and Constitutional Developments

GROUP B : TOPIC II

1. (Mrs.) K. Chattopadhyaya, Note on Racial Problems
2. Enverga, Manuel S., Racial Problems and Root Causes of Racial Conflicts
3. Karve, Irawati, Racial Conflict
4. Majumdar, D.N., Racial Problems
5. Sinha, P.G., Inter-Asian Harmonies and Conflicts
6. Venkataraman, T.K., Racial Problems
7. Anonymous, Some Notes on Chinese Minorities and Emigrations

GROUP B : TOPIC III

1. Nag, S.P., Inter-Asian Migration

GROUP C : TOPIC IV

1. Castillo, Andres V., Economic Transition in the Philippines
2. Ghate, B.G., Inter-Asian Trade
3. Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Transition from Colonial to National Economy
4. Prasad, P. S. Narayana, Co-operative Economic Development of the Asian Countries
5. Ramamurthi, S.V., A Rice Board for Southeast Asia

GROUP C : TOPIC V

1. Datar Singh, Animal Husbandry Research in India
2. de Castro Anastacio, Philippine National Economy
3. Khosla, A.N., Conservation and Utilisation of Water and Land Resources in Asia
4. Lokanathan and Saigal, Industrial Labour in India
5. Lokanathan and Salim, Economic Development of the Middle East

6. Paranjpe, V.M., Population Pressure and Food Supply in Asia
7. Ramamurthi, B., Demographic Trends
8. Salvi, P.G., Cottage Industries of Japan
9. Sanyal, Nalinaksha, India and Inter-Asian Transport and Communications
10. Sastry, S.G., Progress of Applied Science in Asian Countries
11. Sivaswamy, K.G., Peasant Economy in the Middle East and Southeast Asia
12. Viswanath, B., The Application of Science to Agriculture in Asian Countries
13. Burma Council of World Affairs, Economic Reconstruction of Burma

GROUP C : TOPIC VI

1. Abraham, C.C., Physical Education and Recreation for Asian Countries
2. Chatterji, A., Welfare Problems
3. Das Gupta, B.B., International Wage Disparities
4. de Silva, George E., Health Problems of Ceylon
5. Hewavitarne, Raja, General Reflections on our Labour Problems
6. Israni, B., Labour Problems and Social Services
7. Joseph, P.M., Physical Education and Recreation
8. Khan, Abdul Majid, Report on Public Health Activities in Afghanistan
9. Maung Sein, Health Problems in Burma
10. Mehta, B.M., Approaches to Community Organisation
11. Mukhtar, Ahmad, Labour Legislation in India
12. Patwardhan, V.N., The Problem of Nutrition in India and Asia
13. Raja, K.C.K.E., Health Problems of India
14. Raja, K. C. K. E., Health Problems of Asia
15. Sen, S.C., Welfare Problems
16. Sondhi, G. D., Note on the desirability of organising an Asian Games Federation
17. Anonymous, Nutrition in Siam

GROUP D : TOPIC VII

1. Bulsara, J.F., International Auxiliary Language
2. Burma Council of World Affairs, Cultural Problems with Special Reference to Post-war Education Problems in Burma
3. Burma Council of World Affairs, Cultural Problems of Burma

4. Burma Council of World Affairs, Science and Development of Burma
5. S. Chary, The East Asian Countries and India
6. de Croze, Count, Implication of the Cultural Position of India
7. Dorji, J.P., Bhutan
8. Dutt, S., Culture : Chinese and Indian
9. Dutt, S., Some Aspects of Japanese Culture
10. Gangoly, O.C., Cultural Problems of India and East Asia
11. Junankar, N.S., Institute of Asian Culture
12. Kaul, K.K., The Impact of Indian Art in Asia
13. Khan, Abdul Majid, Higher Education in Afghanistan
14. Majumdar, R.C., Cultural Problems : India and Indonesia
15. Masani, R.P., Inter-Asian Relations and Intellectual Co-operation
16. Masani, R.P., Growth of the Idea of Humanity, Unity and World Community
17. Mendez, Mauro, Freedom of the Press in the Philippines
18. Mukherjee, J.N., The Progress of Agricultural Science in India
19. Mukherjee, J.N., Co-operation among Asian Countries in the field of Agricultural Research
20. Nag, K., Cultural Problems
21. Narasimhayya, P., Education in Asir
22. Narayanan, T., Aesthetic Traditions of the East
23. Phya Anuman, Cultural Problems
24. Qureshi, I.H., Cultural Relations between India and the Middle East
25. Raman, C.V., Scientific Research in Asia
26. Ray, Nihar Ranjan, Cultural Problems
27. Saiyidain, K.G., Education in Asia
28. Saxena, Baburam, Inter-Asian Language
29. Siwandhi, Education in Indonesia
30. Tan Yun-shan, Inter-Asian Cultural Co-operation
31. Ziauddin Ahmed, Universities and Industries

GROUP E : TOPIC VIII

1. Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi, The Status of Women in India
2. Cooray, Mrs. Cissy, Women's Movement in Ceylon
3. Fernando, Mrs. E.C., Women at Work in Ceylon
4. Harfouche, Jamal Karam, Lebanon and the Status of Women
5. Mendez, Paz Policarpio, Filipino Woman's Role in the Progress of the Nation
6. Yi Yu-chen, Chinese Women's Movement
7. Anonymous, The Women of Siam

OTHERS

1. James, Frederik, A note on the Agenda of the Conference
2. Pillai, P.P., (Ed.), Labour in Southeast Asia

3. *Books and Publications*

1. Baqai, I.H., Books on Asia
2. Cherian, T.O., Handbook of Asian Statistics
3. Publicity Committee, Pictorial Who's Who
4. Raghavan, D., (Ed.), Asia—A Souvenir
5. Venkatasubbiah, H., Asia in the Modern World

APPENDIX E

EXHIBITIONS

1. *Inter-Asian Art Exhibition*

It was fitting that the Asian Relations Conference which aimed at bringing the countries of this continent together should be accompanied by an exhibition of the art of these countries. This exhibition was organised by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, in conjunction with the Indian Council of World Affairs. It was brought together with unavoidable haste: the organisers had to face difficulties of means of transport and unsettled conditions in various Asian countries, and the time at their disposal was little over three months. Nevertheless, it did succeed to a considerable measure in showing the public the growth of Indian painting and sculpture from the earliest Hindu period to the present day as well as present trends in the art of the other Asian countries.

The collection contained exhibits from various Asian countries—Iran, Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Nepal, China, Japan, Bali, and old and modern works from India.

In one section were copies of mural paintings of Ajanta and Bagh; highly stylised and drawn in flat tempera, the artists concentrated on line, and colour played the part of decoration. The

frescoes of Ajanta are the chief monuments of the classical Gupta period. This section included a few beautiful pieces of old Hindu sculpture as well as photographs of others arranged in chronological order.

Another section contained sixty miniature paintings of the late Moghul, Rajput, and Pahari schools (of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Moghul and Rajput paintings are a synthesis of the Persian decorative and the Hindu mural traditions; flat colours and sensitive lines drawn in miniature style are used, as opposed to mural dimensions of the old Hindu tradition. The subjects are mostly court scenes, *Ragas* and portraits. The next stage in Indian painting was represented by some beautiful examples of Pahari schools, some of them done by the famous Pahari painter Mola Ram. There is subtle difference of expression between these and the old Moghuls; the line, here, has more importance but they are done in miniature and full-bodied, deep-toned colour harmony is maintained just as in Moghuls or Rajputs.

The main hall contained a selection of over two hundred paintings from the early years of this century to the present day—representing the modern Indian artistic renaissance. They included paintings by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Asit Haldar, Sardar Ukil, Jamini Roy, A. R. Chughta, and a number of young artists who have carved a niche for themselves in Indian art. Here in this section one saw artists following the old traditional style in flat colours and bold lines, with subtlety of colour composition maintained by wash technique. Also, here one found the classical European technique, both in oils and water colour, rubbing shoulders with other works where the inspiration has been derived from the more modern European techniques. Here also one came across some original techniques evolved by young Indians themselves.

In the work of the young artists of India it was interesting to see divergent techniques applied. In the experiments they are making today these young artists have drawn on the experience of artists from all over the world. This will, it is hoped, evolve into a really genuine art tradition of twentieth century India.

The works from various Asian countries like Iran, Bali, Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, China and Japan were arranged in separate sec-

tions. Bali was represented by a collection of twenty-six paintings in Indian ink (black and white). They are the work of young Balinese painters all below the age of twenty. A delightful feeling for form and complete lack of sophistication marked almost all of them. The themes vary from everyday life to mythological subjects and phantasies.

Iran was represented by twelve pictures and seemed to be content to follow the traditional decorative style and familiar motifs.

Burma and Ceylon were represented by seven and nineteen paintings respectively. The work in both cases was entirely in the traditional Western technique, though the paintings from Ceylon were much more varied and interesting.

The best from the Japanese group was a brush drawing, on silk, "Fish" by Kakemonos, a very simple and beautiful composition of two swimming fish. With very little use of pigment the movement of the two fish and the feeling of the transparency of water were effectively brought out.

Tibet was represented by six painted silk banners (*Thankas*). The figure of the Buddha, in rich, brilliant colours, formed the central theme of all of them with other figures grouped around or below.

It would be apt to close this short review by quoting Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's words when he opened the Exhibition: "This Exhibition of Arts is as significant as the Conference itself, for whereas at the Conference the voice of the Asian nations is heard, here the very embodiment, the innermost experiences and the deepest sensibilities are put on record through their artists."—

Courtesy: Mr. Anil Roy Chaudhury, Art and Culture Press Service.

2. *The Science Exhibition*

A Science Exhibition was organised on the occasion of the Asian Relations Conference in the buildings of the science block of the Delhi University, which remained open every day through-

out the period that the Conference was in session. The Exhibition was open to the membership of the Conference and the general public as well. Those who visited the Exhibition found the exhibits most interesting and from discussion with the various exhibitors they obtained valuable information regarding activities in various branches of science in India.

The success of the Exhibition was the result of the co-operative effort of a number of institutions in India dealing with scientific research and technological development. Thanks largely to the efforts of Dr. Lal C. Verman, Director, Physical Laboratories, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, entries were collected from distant parts of the country at short notice. The participating institutions wholeheartedly contributed towards the success of this Exhibition by placing freely at the disposal of the organisers the services of their staff, together with available scientific equipment of a highly specialised nature. The institutions that co-operated in this venture were the Physical and Chemical Laboratories of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Physics Department of the Delhi University; the Meteorological Department; the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission; the Geological Survey of India; the Indian Agricultural Research Institute; the Forest Research Institute; the Indian Lac Research Institute; the Malaria Institute of India; the Chief Consulting Engineer (Roads), Transport Department; the Psychology Department of the St. Stephens' College (Delhi); the Director of Employment, Home Department, Government of India; and Indian National Airways Ltd., (New Delhi).

The Physical Laboratories of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research exhibited a number of new physical instruments and a variety of engineering stores developed specially to meet the acute shortages resulting from the last war. Of particular interest were the exhibits dealing with new techniques for the manufacture of plastic products.

The Chemical Laboratories of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research exhibited a large variety of plant products, plastic development, rubber products, oils and oil-seeds. Particular mention should be made of developments concerning the industrial utilisation of *Bhilawan* nuts.

The Meteorological Department exhibited a wide variety of meteorological devices, most of which were conceived and manufactured in India. Radio Sonde, Sound Ranging and Agricultural Meteorological exhibits were particularly outstanding. Of special interest to the delegates was the map of Asia, showing Meteorological establishments in India and neighbouring countries and illustrating how weather conditions prevailing in contiguous countries affect each other.

The Physics Department of the University of Delhi exhibited a number of charts and diagrams illustrating the production and utilisation of atomic energy.

The Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission had on exhibit models, maps and charts illustrating the utility and scope of a number of hydraulic, waterways, irrigation and navigation projects. Entries illustrating the utility and scale model experiments for river training were also included.

The Geological Survey of India had on show a large number of mineral samples illustrating the potential mineral wealth of the country.

The Indian Agricultural Research Institute's exhibits were divided into five major sections dealing with 1. General Agriculture including Cattle Breeding, 2. Botany, 3. Chemistry and Soil Science, 4. Entomology, and 5. Mycology. Each of these sections showed some outstanding examples of the advances made in recent years in different fields of agricultural science.

The Forest Research Institute's exhibits included a wide variety of utility goods made from various products. Of particular interest was a spring made from timber for use in household furniture.

The Indian Lac Research Institute exhibited a number of industrial products made from shellac including some of the new applications recently discovered.

The Malaria Institute of India endeavoured to show how Malaria is spread and how it can be controlled on a large scale.

The Chief Consulting Engineer (Roads) had on exhibit the various plans for the future road development and organisation of India, and how Indian roads will be linked with those of neighbouring countries. The scientific aspect of soil stabilisation for the construction of all-weather roads for village communities scattered all over the country was also emphasised.

The Psychology Department of the St. Stephen's College showed the equipment used in modern experimental psychology and also arranged for actual psychological tests to be carried out to illustrate the use of modern methods.

The Director of Employment, Home Department, arranged to show how by using modern methods of experimental psychology aptitudes of candidates for various types of jobs can be determined and chances of misplacement of personnel minimised.

Indian National Airways exhibited a cut-away model of a modern aircraft engine, together with a number of aviation instruments including radio equipment.

From the wide variety of subjects covered by this Exhibition, as indicated by the above brief description, it is clear how the life of modern man could be enriched by scientific discoveries in apparently unconnected fields of activity.—Courtesy : Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

3. *The Archaeological Exhibition*

The Exhibition was held from March 22 to April 6, 1947 in Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi. It was visited by the delegates and the distinguished guests to the Conference, as well as by the citizens of Delhi, both officials and non-officials. The Hon'ble Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of the Interim Government, the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education and other visitors participated in a private opening show on 22nd March, 1947. Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Mountbatten also visited the Exhibition on 31 March 1947.

OUR AIM

India is a vast peninsula of Asia, occupying a predominantly central position to which lines of communications converge from Iran, Afghanistan, Arabia and Turkey on the west ; from Nepal,

Tibet, Chinese Turkistan and China on the north ; and from Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia on the south-east. Even the oceanic frontiers of India on the south, far from making her exclusive, served as a means of developing international contacts. The history of India is linked with the history of the immense continent of Asia, and similarly the history and culture of Asia were constantly influenced from India. The Exhibition was organised to illustrate this two-fold cultural intercourse between India and her neighbouring countries of Asia and the ancient classical world.

The collection assembled contained exhibits from Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia, Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Indo-China, China, Indonesia and Ceylon together with a series of pre-historic, early historic and medieval objects from India itself to illustrate external contacts.

The Inter-Asian Exhibition was a unique show of its kind ever organised in India. It was a co-operative effort in which many of the Provincial and State Museums and private collectors extended their willing help. This spirit of mutual collaboration in cultural projects is a welcome sign of the change that is coming over Indian Museums and a happy augury for the future. The various Provincial Governments and Trustees in charge of Museums as well as the Curators alike responded with sympathy and prompt action.

THE EXHIBITION

Room 1 : Indus Valley Civilization (c. 3000-2500 B.C.)

India's history prior to the time of the Buddha in the 6th century B.C. was considered an archaeological blank, although literary references pointed to international relationships once existing before that period. In the twenties of the present century, the researches of the Archaeological Survey of India at Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjo-daro in Sindh brought to light two great cities, built largely of baked brick and including well-built houses, with regular street-plan, and an elaborate drainage system which might be the envy of many Indian cities of the present day. Contacts with approximately dated phases of Summerian and Akkadian civilization in Mesopotamia, showed that these cities were flourishing about 2500 B.C. Through this discovery, India at once took her place alongside Mesopotamia and Egypt as the home of one of the oldest

evolved civilizations of the world, and won for herself an honourable place on the archaeological map of the most ancient world. The culture developed in these city-states was urban in its character. In spite of occasional contacts with Mesopotamia as established by the presence at Ur and her sister-cities of a few objects which had been made by craftsmen of the Indus Valley, the Indus Valley civilization was essentially Indian in structure. Both at Harappā and at Mohenjo-daro there were strongly fortified citadels which must have formed the stronghold of a secular and religious administration.

The Exhibition included a selection of the objects found at Mohenjo-daro, Harappā and related sites to illustrate the earliest Indian civilization and its relationship with the West. The material consisted of statuary, terracotta figurines, beads, jewellery, small faience vessels used for cosmetics, toilet requisites, such as combs, mirrors and razors of copper, seals, gamesmen, toys, chert implements, weights, stone vessels, weapons of war and domestic tools of copper and bronze, decorative objects of shell, bone and ivory and finally house-hold pottery, as well as burial pottery.

Notable specimens included the figure of a noble man or a priest wearing a shawl of decorative pattern, a beautiful female dancing figure, a nude male statuette showing wonderful modelling of bodily contour, and figurines of the Great Mother Goddess, whose worship once extended from the Indus Valley to the Mediterranean and whose survivals are also traceable in the Indian archaeology of the historical times. The seals with the pictographic writing on them show that the people in the Indus Valley possessed one of the essential requirements of a higher civilization. Pursuing the arts of peace they had evolved an advanced form of religion and material culture.

An air-photograph of the archaeological ruins of Mohenjo-daro and a map indicating all the thirty-five chalcolithic sites identified between the Arabian Sea and the foot of the Simla hills, were also shown in this Room.

Room 2 : India and the Classical West

Ancient Indian literature is full of references to the Yavanas, i.e. Greeks and to the Romans, even the city of Rome is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as Romā. This contact had already been established before the 5th century B.C. as shown by Pānini's mention

of the writing of the Ionian Greeks. The flood-gates for mutual exchange were, however, thrown open in the last part of the 4th century B.C. Asoka in his monumental Rock Edicts at Kalsi (Dehra Dun District) has left the clearest record of India's contacts with the Greek Kings, not only ruling near the frontiers of India, but also over Egypt and Macedon, with whom the Mauryan emperor exchanged embassies and in whose kingdom he organised medical and humanitarian relief. By his own shining example of broad-minded tolerance Asoka was the first to evolve a true conception of inter-Asian unity which binds the peoples of this great continent. The text of the original words of the Emperor together with a translation formed an illuminating exhibit in this section.

Contacts between India and the Greco-Roman West in the early centuries A.D. assumed two forms: commercial contact affecting southern India and cultural contact affecting north-western India. Sea-trade between the Mediterranean world and India has left its evidence in the hoards of Roman gold coins found in south India, some of which were exhibited. Secondly, the recent excavations at an Indian port-town at Arikamedu near Pondicherry, which served as an emporium of trade with the Roman world during first-second centuries A.D., yielded relics of interest, e.g., pieces of red-glazed Italian pottery datable from the first half of the 1st century A.D., Roman lamps, glass-bowls, Greco-Roman gems and fragments of amphorae, illustrating the Mediterranean wine-trade, all of which were exhibited in a separate case. A popular pottery type at Arikamedu was a thin, well-burnt, black dish with bands of rouletted pattern on the inner base, a feature derived from Mediterranean craftsmanship.

Secondly, as to cultural contact Indian civilization in the north-west of India assimilated elements from Greco-Roman arts which became a part of the composite Buddhist art of the early centuries A.D. so well-known as the Gandhara School of Art.

There is an earlier phase of this art represented mostly by stone sculptures which centred round the modern city of Peshawar; and a later phase represented mostly by sculpture in clay and stucco, which has been called the "Afghan School" from the fact that its geographical centre of dispersion lies in the neighbourhood of Jalalabad (ancient *Nagarahāra*) in eastern Afghanistan. The two phases are aspects of the same general school, which in spite of its betraying admixture of Western features was essentially an Indian

art. The spiritual ideas and expressions conveyed through the specimens of this school are remote from those of the classical world.

Specimens of the Gandhāra school at the Exhibition comprised stone sculptures from Taxila, such as an Indo-Corinthian capital with acanthus leaves, a composite Corintho-Ionian pillar-capital which was a characteristic creation of the Roman period and frequently utilised in the Gandhara art, garland-bearing cupids—a favourite motif in Gandhara derived from classical art, Scythian worshippers wearing coats and trousers, a plaque depicting Ganyমেদে being carried off by the eagle of Zeus, evidently a copy from a Roman original, atlantes figures supporting heavy superstructure as in classical architecture, an image of Pallas Athene, a female Śalabhañjikā figure and a relief with a Bacchanalian scene showing carousers and festivities connected with Bacchus or Dionysus, god of wine. A bronze statuette of the Egyptian child-god Harpocrates provided a good example Hellenistic workmanship from Taxila. Images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in blue schist stone of Gandhara formed interesting exhibits of this school. A group of stucco-heads (2nd to 6th century A.D.), mostly from the Buddhist shrines and monasteries at Taxila, representing both purely Hellenistic and purely Indian types were exhibited. Hellenistic terracottas from the Parthian city of Sirkap (Taxila) and from Sardheri and Jaulian were also on show. An inscribed casket of steatite dedicated by a Greek officer named Theodores *Meridarkh* (ruler of a district) with an inscription in Kharoshthi script of the 1st century B.C. found in Swat was a typical example. From the interior of India itself were represented a few clay sealings from Rajghat near Benares, bearing figures of Herakles, winged Nike and Athena, which appear to be the relics of a whirl-wind intrusion into the heart of north India by some Greek conqueror, probably Demetrius. Literary echoes of this Greek invasion are traceable in the texts and inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. A set of jewellery of the Indo-Parthian period, intaglio gems, silver utensils and coins of the Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers completed the picture of the cultural pattern resulting from India's contact with the Hellenistic world.

India and Iran

Indo-Iranian relationship is rooted in the early history and origins of the Aryan race. The Iranians represent one of the two

ASIAN RELATIONS

great branches into which the Aryans divided before they entered India. The language and literature on both sides bear testimony to this, and the Persian language itself evolving from old-Iranian and Pahlavi of the Sasanian period is essentially an Aryan language in its vocabulary and grammatical structure. India still bears this heritage in the possession of the Parsi community settled within her borders for more than a thousand years now.

Evidence of datable contact is, however, available in the inscriptions of the great Achaemenian emperor Darius, who incorporated north-west India in the Persian empire after 518 B.C. India for the first time finds mention in his inscriptions at Behistun under the name of *Hindu*, which was evidently derived from *Sindhu*. As a result of that contact the official script of the Achaemenian empire, namely Aramaic, was adapted to the local Prakrit of Gandhāra, and an inscription of Asoka actually in Aramaic was found at Taxila and was here exhibited. Inscriptions in Aramaic are known from Egypt, Asia-Minor, Arabia, and Iran, and India too offers a link in the chain.

Iranian influence on Indian history reappeared about the 1st century B.C. with the coming of the Scythians from Sistan, who founded an empire in India with centres at Taxila, Mathurā and Ujjain. Some inscriptions, terracotta heads and female figurines from Mathurā as well as early coins providing evidence of this contact were exhibited. Throughout the Sasanian period, Indo-Persian cultural intercourse was on the increase with the result that the Sasanian coins circulated on the Indian soil, Persian facial types were represented in Indian clay figurines and stone sculptures, and embassies were exchanged between the two nations. A *darbar* scene in Cave I at Ajanta appears to represent the reception of a Persian embassy at the court of an Indian ruler, which has been identified by scholars as the proof of diplomatic exchange between Khusro II and the Chalukyan king Pulakesin in the seventh century A.D.

The most conspicuous exhibit representing Indo-Iranian relationship was the cast of the Lion-Capital from Mathurā bearing a long Kharoshthī inscription. It is an important document of the Indo-Scythian rulers of about the 1st century B.C. recording a religious endowment and closing with a prayer for the welfare of the whole Śākasthāna (Sistan), the homeland of the Scythians.

The Indo-Scythian facial types were represented in the stone heads from Mathurā, wearing a special kind of conical headdress, which was a distinctive feature of the *Tigrakhauda* branch of the Śakas.

The sun-worshippers of Iran coming to India brought about a revision in the iconography of the Sun-god on Indian soil. After the 1st century A.D. the solar god assumes an Iranian aspect, wearing a long coat, trousers and boots, which the Indian literature refers to as *Udichya-veśa*—'Northern dress'. Indeed the Vishnu-dharmottara Purāṇa (c. 6th-7th century) goes so far as to refer to the sacred girdle of the Parsis under the name of *yaviyāṅgā*, as an emblem of the solar image. It also mentions the Magian Brāhmaṇas from Śaka-dvīpa invited for the installation of temples of the Sun-god. Two important images of Sūrya from Mathurā exhibited this phase of Indo-Iranian contact between the 1st and the 6th century A.D.

The Archaeological Department of the Government of Iraq sent through the Art Society of Calcutta a set of photographic enlargements of the important monuments in that country, including a view of the Ziggurat, with which some of the terraced structures in India mentioned as *Edūkas* in the Purāṇas, bear resemblance.

India and Afghanistan

Afghanistan, an important neighbouring country, formed for many centuries a cultural province of India. Afghan geography finds its earliest reference in the R̥gveda. Kandahar (Gandhāra), Balkh (Bālhika), Hari-Rud (Sarayū), Arghandāb (old-Iranian *Haruvaiti*, Sanskrit *Sarasvatī*) Kabul (*Kubhā*), Afghan (*Aśvakāyana*) and Paktoon (*Pakthana*) are some of the many names, retaining a stamp of Sanskrit origin. For full one thousand years, Afghanistan played a conspicuous part in the development of Buddhist art and religion and her fertile valleys sheltered numerous religious and educational institutions, which were clustered on the highway connecting India with Central Asia. Chandragupta Maurya, in the years immediately following Alexander's destruction of the Persian empire, built up an Indian empire, which extended into Afghanistan. Later again, the Kushāna dynasty included a considerable part of Afghanistan in its Indian dominion. Indeed, the centre of the Afghan school of Gandhāra art, which, between the

2nd and 5th centuries A.D., expressed itself primarily in sculptures of clay and stucco, is to be sought rather in Afghanistan than in India. There, at Hadda, near Jalalabad and as far away as Kunduz on the Oxus plain stucco Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and their worshippers have been found, identical in form and style with those from Taxila from the northern Punjab.

At Begram, 50 miles north of Kabul, there has been found the greatest collection of Indian ivory carvings ever discovered—a collection which at once puts the work of the ivory-carvers of the Mathurā region into front rank of ancient craftsmanship. Essentially Indian motifs, e.g. the Full Vase (*pūrṇa-ghata*) and the Asoka-dohada (i.e., the Asoka tree desiring the touch of a maiden's foot prior to its efflorescence), are carved on these ivory plaques.

By the kind courtesy of the Kabul Museum and the Afghan Government, Afghanistan was amply represented at the Exhibition. The Afghan delegation to the Conference brought along with them a group of select stucco-heads from Kunduz and Hadda, carved Indian ivories from Begram (ancient *Kāpiśā*), and a marble statue of Śūrya dressed in Sasanian style, found in the excavations of the solar temple at Khair Khaneh, near Kabul. Painted copies of the fresco paintings and of the two colossal rock-cut statues of Buddha, in the Bamian Valley, were also displayed. This was an instance of how inter-Asian cultural collaboration can become a living reality. Mr. Ahmed Ali Kohzad, Director of the Kabul Museum was mainly responsible for the exhibits from his museum which mainly occupied this section.

Room 3 : India and South-East Asia

India's neighbours towards the eastern frontier include Burma, Siam, Malaya, Cambodia, Champā, and Indonesia (Sumatra, Java and Bali). This vast area received strong influences from India in the domain of religion, language, art and architecture to which archaeological remains in this region bear testimony. The orbit of India's cultural empire once embraced these distant lands for several centuries. By the 4th century A.D. Hindu kingdoms had been established in each area, using Sanskrit as the official language and a south Indian alphabet as the official script. Sculpture and architecture of the 5th to the 8th centuries are closely related to contemporary Indian art.

The Intercourse between India and the Further East depended mostly on open sea-voyages from the ports situated along the entire sea-coast of India. An original Sanskrit inscription of the great Indian sea-captain (*mahānāvika*) Buddhagupta of Rangamati (*Raktamṛttikā*) in Bengal, found in the Wellesley Province of Malaya, was received from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as a suitable monument to the glory and achievement of the early Indian navigators.

India and Burma

Burma owes to India her script, religion and its sacred literature. Indian influence was strong between the 5th and the 8th century A.D. Objects from Burma at the Exhibition included terracotta votive tablets in late Gupta style (6th-7th century A.D.) showing Buddha seated in *vajrāsana*, found from the ancient temple of Hmawza, near Prome (old *Śrikshetra*). Similar Buddhist tablets from the temple of Pagan (11th-12th century) were also displayed in this section. A few Burmese manuscripts on palm-leaf and on gold lacquered leaves representing its religious literature were also shown as exhibits from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

India and Siam, Cambodia and Champā

Champā, the land of the Chams, was for a thousand years (c. 3rd to the 12th century) a land of mixed Indo-Cham culture. In the 3rd century there extended in central Champā the Hindu kingdom of Kauthāra, which was succeeded a little later by the kingdom of Pānduranga, modern Phanrang on the sea-coast. Champā was thus the earliest theatre of Hindu influence from India, the magnificent Siva temple at Mison, established by Dharma-rajā Śrī-Bhadravarman in the 4th century, later became the national centre of pilgrimage. This dynasty ended in A.D. 757. During that period, Champā was virtually a province of India in respect of its art, its Sanskrit language and Brahmanical religion. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Champā provide excellent specimens of classical Sanskrit poetry, as it prevailed on the Indian mainland. Some of these epigraphs including the earliest Sanskrit inscription from Vo-chanh (2nd or 3rd century A.D.) in an early south Indian script and the inscription of Mison, were exhibited by the courtesy

of L'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient. The same institution brought by air for display at the exhibition a set of bronzes and stone images, as well as important photographs of the pre-Khmer (5th to 7th century) and the Khmer (9th to 12th century) monuments in French Indo-China, specially of the Bayon central temple at Angkor Thom (built by Yaśovarman in c. 900 A.D.) and of the most beautiful and impressive of all buildings of this period, namely, the temple of Angkor Wat (old Yaśodharapura, Angkor being derived from Sanskrit *Nagara*) built in c. A.D. 1125. This gallery was specially organised with the kind assistance of Madame Suzanne Karpelès.

India and Indonesia

The islands of Indonesia were early visited by Indian settlers whose inscriptions of the 4th-5th century A.D. refer to the old Hindu kingdom of Tārumā in Java. The most flourishing period of Indonesian history when intercourse with India was at its highest, coincides with the rule of the Śailendra dynasty (c. 732 to 860 A.D.), whose rulers presiding over the mighty empire of Śrivijaya in central Sumatra, wielded great power and maintained political contacts with kings in India and neighbouring regions. Being devout Buddhists, they founded sanctuaries, not only in their own territories, but even in distant Nalanda, the famous University centre in Bihar. A copper plate inscription (A.D. 840) found in the ruins of the Nalanda University was brought for the Exhibition from the Nalanda Museum. It states that king Pālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty of Svarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) requested the king of Magadha to purchase on his behalf five villages and to present them to the Nalanda University for the maintenance of a monastery of students from abroad. The greatest surviving monument of the Buddhist religion, the Stūpa of Borobudur in Java was illustrated by means of suitable photo enlargements, whereas two original stone images from the Indian Museum representing Prajñā-pāramitā and Lokeśvara illustrated the school of medieval Javanese sculpture.

Indonesian contacts with India seem to have continued right up to the 15th century, of which archaeological proof is forthcoming in the form of a large hoard of 294 bronzes (11th-15th century), discovered from the Buddhist site of Negapatam, an ancient port-town on the eastern coast of south India. Buddhists from Java

and Sumatra had settled down at this place in the 9th-10th century, in the time of the imperial Cholas, whose celebrated ruler Rājārāja Chola (985-1018 A.D.) built two Buddhist temples, which continued to be visited by foreign pilgrims until the 15th century. Six select images of Buddha and Bodhisattva from that hoard were shown at the Exhibition by the courtesy of the Madras Museum.

India and Ceylon

Ceylon owes to India its religion, sacred language and some of the inspiration of its art and architecture. India on the other hand owes a most profound debt to Ceylon in the preservation of the entire Buddhist Pali canon with its voluminous commentaries, which have been preserved with remarkable fidelity in Ceylon, though it long ago disappeared from India itself.

In Indian inscriptions and literature, Ceylon is referred to under the several names of *Laṅkā*, *Sinhala*, *Tāmaparṇī*, *Āmradvīpa*, 'Mango Island'—a name derived from its resemblance to a mango in shape. Ever since the episode of the Ramayana, *Laṅkā* has been a by-word in India. But first historical reference to the Island occurs in the second Rock-edict of Asoka who mentions *Tāmaparṇī* as one of the several countries receiving his missions of piety. Indeed, the Emperor's own son Mahendra and his daughter Saṅghamitrā were responsible for converting Ceylon to Buddhism. An off-shoot of the tree of Enlightenment from Bodh-Gaya planted by Saṅghamitrā in Ceylon is flourishing today under the name of *Jaya-Mahabodhi*.

Archaeological proof, however, of Ceylonese direct contact with India comes from the Gupta period in the form of an important inscription (588-89 A.D.) which was shown at the Exhibition. It states that a renowned Ceylonese monk named Mahānāman constructed a shrine at the place where Buddha had received enlightenment. Ceylon also finds mention in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (325-375 A.D.), who had friendly contacts with the contemporary king of Ceylon. The latter sent a mission to Samudragupta asking permission to build a monastery at Bodh-Gaya for Ceylonese pilgrims. Yuan-Chwang in the 7th century visited this magnificent establishment, which was then occupied by thousand monks. Painted copies of the fresco-paintings from the royal palace at Sigirya (old *Simhagiri*, 5th century A.D.) with clear

traces of Ajanta influence, and from the temples at Polannaruwa (ancient *Pulastipura*, 12th century), revealing Chola influences were made available for the exhibition through the courtesy of the Aushutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

India and China

Cultural intercourse between China and India covers a long history of about 1200 years from c. 1st century A.D. India owes to China the preservation in the Chinese Tripitaka of about 5,000 books relating to Buddhism and other branches of Indian literature. Almost all these volumes represent Chinese translations of the originals now lost in India. A stream of Indian scholars went over to China and great Chinese pilgrims proceeded to India in quest of sacred literature and learning.

India's contact with China reached its peak in the reign of Harsha, who not only himself sent an embassy to China in 641 A.D., but also received in return a Chinese mission in 643 A.D., bearing the Imperial reply to Harsha's despatch. The great Master of Law, Yuang-Chwang revered both by scholars in India and China, visited the court of Harsha and studied in the Nālandā University for ten years. After his return to China three letters were exchanged between him and the teachers of the Nālandā monastery. Originally they were written in Sanskrit, but their translations have been preserved in a Chinese life of Yuang-Chwang by Hui-li. These were for the first time translated into English through the kindness of Dr. P. C. Bagchi of Cheena-Bhavan, Shantiniketan, and were exhibited in the Chinese section of the Exhibition. A traditional portrait of the pilgrim, kindly lent by Mr. O. C. Gangoly, who obtained it from a monastery near Chen-tu, in the province of Schwezan, was also shown. Archaeological proof of continued Chinese contact exists in the inscriptions at Bodha-Gaya of Chinese monks coming on pilgrimage to India to visit the holy places of Buddhism throughout the medieval period. A large inscription of c. 950 A.D., engraved on a stone-slab depicting the seven Buddhas, and recording the visit of the monk Che-Yi of the Han country formed an interesting specimen.

The other Chinese exhibits consisted of specimens of Chinese coins of the Sung period (960-1279) discovered in Tanjore district, illustrating commercial contacts between China and south India in

the Chola period ; specimens of Chinese celadon ware from Arikamedu near Pondicherry, which as a trading sea-port was receiving Chinese vessels until 10th-12th century ; and some celadon dishes from China belonging to the Mughal palaces of Delhi, one of them being inscribed with the name of Prince Shah Shuja, a son of Shahjehan and dated A.D. 1647.

India and Tibet

Tibet has always been near to the heart of India through its two sacred places, Holy Kailāsa and Mānasarovara, visited by numerous Indian pilgrims every year. These contacts date back to the period of the Mahābhārata. But it was in the 7th century that Tibet borrowed from India Buddhism and also the Indian script preserved with little change since that time. This transformation was brought about through the genius and foresight of Srong-Tsan-Sgampo, the most distinguished ruler of Tibet, a painting of whom was shown on a silken banner from the Patna Museum. Like China, Tibet also has the credit of preserving a body of Sanskrit literature in translation in the Tibetan canon. A most valuable and rare manuscript of the Prajñā-pāramitā written in gold-letters in the Tibetan script (of about the 14th century) was lent by the Patna Museum for display at the Exhibition. Another manuscript of the *Kanjur* in Tibetan xylograph (reproduced with engraved wooden blocks) was lent by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Tibetan art is specially rich in bronzes and silk paintings, mostly in the form of temple banners called *thankas*. A representative collection of both was made available for display at the Exhibition by the Patna Museum and the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum of Benares. Specially notable was a *thanka* showing the portraits as preserved in Tibetan tradition, of the Indian teachers named Dinnāga, Asanga, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Vasubandhu and Dharma-kīrti—inspiring names in the history of Buddhist church, serving as lights to people both in India and Tibet. Two Buddhist *thanka* paintings presented by the Dalai Lama of Tibet to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were kindly lent by him for the Exhibition.

India and Nepal

India's contact with Nepal dates back to the 2nd century A.D. when the Lichhavis of Magadha founded a dynasty in Nepal, taking

with them all the essential elements of the Indian civilization. The Nepalese language and script, religion and art, have all been deeply influenced from India. Napalese art is best known by its remarkable images of fine workmanship, representing Hindu deities like Vishnu, Siva and Pārvati and Buddhist gods of the Tantric pantheon. Several specimens were shown at the Exhibition through the courtesy of Dr. Sen of the Nepal Museum. The old Nepalese school of painting (c. 8th-10th century) was represented by a few specimens of banners found in the Caves of the thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang. Most of the available paintings from Nepal, however, are silken banners of the 17th-18th century, some good examples of which were exhibited, including a *thangka* depicting the god Mahakala (17th century ; lent by the Bharat Kala Bhavan).

On the dissolution of the great Buddhist monasteries in Bihar and Bengal due to the Muslim invasion, valuable illustrated manuscripts were taken to Nepal, where some of them have been preserved until the present day. The Bharat Kala Bhavan lent two palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* containing excellent illustrations of the Pāla school, one of them dated A.D. 894 in the reign of king Mohendrapāla of Magadha and the other A.D. 1093 in the reign of Rāmpāldeva. Systematic exploration in Nepal as the result of future contacts with India, may lead to the discovery of more treasures of this kind, including some of the oldest manuscripts of Indian texts.

Room 4: India and Central Asia

Chinese Turkistan, the "Innermost Heart of Asia" as it is called, is a vast basin of about 1,500 miles from east to west and 600 miles from north to south. It is crossed by two great trade-routes connecting China with the West, a northern route through Kucha, Karashahar (old *Agnideśa*) and Turfan, and a southern route through Yarkand, Khotan, Niya and Miran, both finally converging at Tun-huang on the western frontier of China. These 'Silk Routes' were the principal means of over-land communication between India and China for a thousand years and were known to the Chinese pilgrims, e.g. Yuan-Chwang, who selected the northern route for his journey to India and the southern route for his return journey. The cities along these routes might indeed be described as stages in a pilgrim's progress, both to and from China. Almost all of them have yielded rich archaeological material throwing light

on a thousand years of history of this region, and presenting a picture of a rich and assimilated cultural pattern. In this great crucible, four civilisations, Greaco-Bactrian, Iranian, Indian and Chinese, met and mingled with one another round the central theme of Buddhism.

Sir Aurel Stein, during his three expeditions to Central Asia (1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-16) discovered an exceptional wealth of material in the form of important art-specimens and manuscripts in Sanskrit, Chinese, Syriac, Soghdian, Turkish, and in unknown languages, such as Tocharian and Khotanese. In the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, a walled-up chapel disclosed valuable paintings on silk. India's share in this cultural inter-mixture preponderated over the rest mainly through the influence of Buddhism, and both the artistic and literary remains furnish important material for re-constructing substantial chapters in the history of Greater India.

Select specimens of the rich Central Asian material were displayed in nine show-cases, including gilt and painted stucco figurines from Niya, Miran, Khotan and Domoko (4th-10th century) ; terra-cotta votive plaques depicting Buddha and other deities from Khotan (7th-8th century) and from Kharakhoto shrines (8th-10th century) ; numerous objects from the Astana cemetery included grave figures and even cakes and pastries made of dough and bran ; textiles including embroidered and painted silk and woollen tapestry ; and objects of horn, leather and fibres. Numerous documents on wood in Kharoshthī characters (c. 1st-2nd century A.D.) were found at Niya, written in a Prakrit dialect adopted as the official language in south-eastern Turkistan. The documents are mostly of two kinds, wedge-shaped (*kīla-mudrā*) used for communications of an official nature, such as royal decisions and instructions to local officials, and oblong (*takhti*-shaped) used for private deeds of agreement, bonds, etc. The tablets were held together by a string, sealed on the outside with a clay seal. The two inner sides were used for writing purposes and the address was written on the outside. Select specimens of these were exhibited.

Sir Aurel Stein had also recovered a number of silk-paintings from the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas", constituting one of the most valuable records of paintings showing Indian influence. They served as the *dhvāna-pāṭas* for the followers of the Meditation School and illustrate a whole art of pictorial representation of the paradises of the Bodhisattvas, Amitābha, Manjusrī and Maitreya,

Those showing Sukhāvati, the heaven of Amitābha are of special artistic merit and interest. One silk-painting reproduces the well-known statues in the Buddhist holy places of India in about the 7th century A.D. The Chinese inscriptions record names of the Indian originals at Śravastī, Kapilavastu, Rājagriha and Vārāṇasī (Benares). Evidently these were records carried off by the Chinese pilgrims on their return journey for the edification of their co-religionists at home. A selection of these large silk paintings was arranged in the western corridor of the Exhibition.

Original fresco-paintings removed by Sir Aurel Stein from the walls of shrines and monasteries in Turfan and other sites of Central Asia, were also on show in a separate building as part of the Exhibition.

Photographic enlargements of important specimens of art throwing light on Indian civilisation in foreign lands were also exhibited in one gallery, amongst which the following are noteworthy :—

1. Mother India on a silver dish found at Lampsacos in Asia Minor (original preserved in the Istanbul Museum). Mother India wearing a *sari* is shown seated on a chair of ivory legs, surrounded by a parrot and another bird, and two animals, one of which is a tiger and another representing a ferocious dog of the breed once reared in the Salt Range of the Punjab.

2. Ivory figure of the Indian Goddess of Love standing in an amorous posture with her two attendants, found in the ruins of Pompei. This figure got buried in 79 A.D. when the city of Pompei was enveloped in volcanic eruption, and therefore must have been taken from India sometime about the middle of the first century A.D. It is a genuine Indian specimen showing strong Mathurā influence in drapery, ornamentation and plastic feeling.

3. Medieval Indian textiles found at Fostat in Egypt, showing typical Indian patterns like the *hamsamandala* and the scene of a boar-hunt. The human figures show the same pointed nose and features, as are found in the early Jain paintings. These fabrics appear to have been taken by the Arab traders who were visiting the ports of western India and Gujerat from 10th to 12th century.

Courtesy : Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Superintendent, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New DELHI.

APPENDIX F

THE PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

(23 March to 2 April 1947)

Sunday—March 23

11-00 a.m. Meeting of the Steering Committee (consisting of the President of the Conference and Leaders of Delegations, to discuss the composition of the Round Table Groups and other questions of procedure).

5-00 p.m. Opening Plenary Session.

Monday—March 24

10-00 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. 1. Topic IV—Transition from Colonial to National Economy (Group C). 2. Topic VII—Cultural Problems (Group D).

1-00 p.m. Opening Plenary Session (continued).

Tuesday—March 25

10-00 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. 1. Topic II—Racial Problems (Group B). 2. Topic IV—Transition from Colonial to National Economy (Group C). 3. Topic VII—Cultural Problems (Group D).

1-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. 1. Topic III—Inter-Asian Migration (Group B). 2. Topic V—Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development (Group C). 3. Topic VII—Cultural Problems (Group D).

Wednesday—March 26

10-00 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. Topic V—Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development (Group C).

1-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. Plenary Session: 1. Topic II—Racial Problems (Group B). 2. Topic III—Inter-Asian Migration (Group B).

Thursday—March 27

10-00 a.m. to 12-30 a.m. Topic V—Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development (Group C).

3-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. Plenary Session: Topic VII—Cultural Problems (Group D).

Saturday—March 29

3-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. Plenary Session: 1. Topic IV—Transition from Colonial to National Economy (Group C). 2. Topic V—Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development (Group C).

Sunday—March 30

10-00 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. 1. Topic I—National Movements for Freedom (Group A). 2. Topic VI—Labour Problems and Social Services (Group C). 3. Topic VIII—Status of Women and Women's Movement (Group E).

3-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. 1. Topic I—National Movements for Freedom (Group A). 2. Topic VI—Labour Problems and Social Services (Group C). 3. Topic VIII—Status of Women and Women's Movements (Group E).

Monday—March 31

10-00 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. Topic VI—Labour Problems and Social Services (Group C). and Topic VIII—Status of Women and Women's Movements (Group E).

Tuesday—April 1

10-00 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. Plenary Session: Topic I—National Movements for Freedom (Group A).

3-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. Plenary Session: Topic VI—Labour Problems and Social Services (Group C).

Wednesday—April 2

10-00 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. Plenary Session: Topic VIII—Status of Women and Women's Movements (Group E).

6 p.m. Closing Plenary Session.

SUPPLEMENTARY PROGRAMME

Monday—March 24

3-00 p.m. Opening of the Inter-Asian Art Exhibition at the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, Parliament Street, New Delhi, by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

Tuesday—March 25

6-30 p.m. Reception by Acharya J. B. Kripalani, President, Indian National Congress at 1, Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Wednesday—March 26

8-00 a.m. Visits to various places.

6-30 p.m. "Chitrangada" (Dance-Drama) at Regal Theatre, Connaught Circus, New Delhi.

Thursday—March 27

6-30 p.m. Variety Entertainment, with Dance Recital (*Bharata-natyam*) by Tara Chowdhury and her troupe, and *Kathakali* by Mr. Vallathol and his troupe, at Regal Theatre, Connaught Circus, New Delhi.

Friday—March 28

8-00 a.m. Visits to various places.

6-00 p.m. Reception by the Viceroy of India and Lady Mountbatten of Burma at Viceroy's House, New Delhi.

9-30 p.m. Reception by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at 17, York Road, New Delhi, with Dance Performance by Chhau dancers of Seraikella.

Saturday—March 29

8-00 a.m. Visits to various places.

6-30 p.m. Reception to women delegates by the All-India Women's Conference at the Lady Irwin College, Sikandra Road, New Delhi.

Sunday—March 30

6-00 p.m. Reception by the Archæological Survey of India at the Red Fort, Delhi.

Monday—March 31

6-30 p.m. Reception by the Press of India at the Council House, New Delhi.

Tuesday—April 1

6-30 p.m. "Discovery of India". A ballet presented by the Indian National Theatre at Regal Theatre, Connaught Circus, New Delhi.





